

THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE
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\$47 Million Damage Suit Trial Begins

ALL-WHITE JURY IN FRED HAMPTON MURDER CASE?



The families of slain Black Panther Party leaders FRED HAMPTON and MARK CLARK (inset) have to yet to receive justice for the execution-style murders which took place on December 4, 1969. A \$47 million suit filed in federal court against those responsible for this vicious FBI-police conspiracy faces a distinct probability of being tried by an all-White jury.

(Chicago, Ill.) - With five of the six federal court jurors swiftly selected, an all-White jury looms as the distinct probability in the \$47 million damage suit case arising from the infamous assassination of Illinois State Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

Four White men and one White woman have already been seated as jurors in the long-delayed, heated trial, while five Blacks on the possible jury panel have been dismissed, two on peremptory challenges by attorneys representing the law enforcement officials responsible for the December 4, 1969, predawn police attack.

Plaintiffs in the case are seven former Black Panther Party members who survived the fusillade of over 100 bullets poured into the Westside apartment by the murdering police — four of whom were wounded in the assault — and the families of the two slain Party leaders.

The defendants are: the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI); the Chicago Police Department; former Cook County State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan, under whom the 14 raiding policemen worked as members of an elite "prosecutions" unit; three former Hanrahan assistants; and William O'Neal, a Judas FBI informer who infiltrated the Chapter.

The prospect of an all-White jury heightens the chances that biased, racist attitudes will tilt the scales so as to make even a semblance of justice impossible.

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Editorial

BOB WELLS' TRIUMPH IS OUR OWN

Walking through the doors of Vacaville Medical Facility in July, 1974, after surviving the unspeakable cruelties of 47 — 47! — years in prison, Wesley Robert Wells scored an undeniable, unforgettable victory not only for the hundreds of thousands of Black and poor prisoners still locked down in the pits, but a majestic triumph for the dignity of the human spirit that cries for release — Freedom — deep within the hearts of all oppressed peoples.

The sudden death of Bob Wells last week should, therefore, cause us all to pause in the helter-skelter of our everyday activities and honor his contributions to the liberation movement he helped to forward through the selfless sacrifice and the very example of his own natural life.

Entering San Quentin in 1927 at age 17, Bob Wells, although admittedly "scared to death," vowed that he was determined not to eat out of his oppressor's hands and resolved to remain his own man. Never a "nigger" — a name which he said "didn't set too good" with him — much less a "Tom," Bob Wells stood virtually alone in those early days of raw White racism and naked brutal force.

For seven years, from 1944 when he was sentenced to die for resisting a guard's harassment with a solid blow by a spittoon, to 1951, Bob Wells' mighty resolve was forged in the fires of a Death Row hell. On 18 separate occasions he received his "date"; not the parole date longed for by all prison inmates, but the date of his state execution. And where was the relief when his death sentence was commuted to life — without possibility of parole?

But all the while Bob Wells' liberating spirit and strength grew within, force-fed by daily doses of resistance and rage, of struggle and a will to survive, ultimately transcending the indignities and gross injustices of cold stone walls and gray steel bars. The freedom path his life etched in blood before us has not ended. The vanguard example set by Bob Wells will live forever in the hearts and minds of Black and poor prisoners and oppressed people everywhere.



An Appeal To Our Readers

Dear Readers and Friends,

The Distribution and Circulation Department of *THE BLACK PANTHER* is in desperate need of a van or truck, with which we could greatly increase the availability of our paper in the Northern California region.

Demands and requests for *THE BLACK PANTHER* have greatly increased in recent months. Many people have heard through word of mouth of the excellence of our paper and particularly its unrivaled and superior coverage of the African liberation movements of southern Africa, but they do not have access to it.

Those of you who are regular readers know *THE BLACK PANTHER* is the only newspaper in the country that has provided weekly coverage, in detail and accurately, of developments in Angola. Only because the American people in general and Black people in particular are kept misinformed and ill-informed about developments in southern Africa, could so heinous a scheme as Roy Innis' — that Black mercenaries fight the legitimate government of the People's Republic of Angola — be even listened to in the Black community.

It is of the greatest urgency that *THE BLACK PANTHER* newspaper be made easily accessible to this community and to every community in this country. A major leap forward toward that objective would be realized if our Circulation Department could secure a truck or van.

If you know anyone who has a truck or van they can contribute, please contact them or let us know. Also, please dig down into your pockets and pocketbooks and send us a generous contribution towards securing this much needed transportation. Every 10 cents will help. Help us now, as many of you have done so generously in the past.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

David G. Du Bois

David G. Du Bois
Editor-in-Chief

Send checks and money orders to: Central Distribution
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COMMENT

Tricontinental: On The War In Angola

The following is an editorial reprinted from *Tricontinental* in which the progressive Cuban monthly comments on the war in Angola — "the example of a people liberating themselves from servitude" — whose victory will bring about "a step forward" for history and "all progressive humanity." *Tricontinental* is published by the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OSPAAAL).

It would have been very foolish to have believed that after its ignominious defeat in Vietnam and Indochina, the United States, arms folded, would quietly preside over the dismantling of its empire which it has built with such iniquity, so many dollars, so much blood (of the peoples who have been attacked, obviously). And in the wake of the "defender of the free world," all its minor associates, nostalgically dreaming of the glorious epoch when the people were colonized and decimated. For today these people know they can rise up and they do so.

Angola, or more exactly the People's Republic of Angola, led by the MPLA, is doing so. And the Angolan people, closely linked to their vanguard, are fighting with such faith in the justice of their cause and the importance of their anti-imperialist contribution, that all the combined resources of the great imperialism and the "sub-imperialisms" are unable to avoid, much less prevent, the retreat of their puppets on all military and political fronts.

It is very consoling, it is very encouraging (and it is only historic justice) to see that no puppet at the hour of truth has ever helped imperialism at all. What else are the Holdens and Savimbis! Let them learn of their inexorable destiny from the Van Thieu's, the Lon Nol's and their cohorts! In Africa and elsewhere, there are many others who are

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NATIONAL BLACK POLITICAL ASSEMBLY BUILDS FOR '76 POLITICAL STRATEGY

Convention Slated For Cincinnati, March 17 to 21

(Cincinnati, Ohio) - The "new Black politics" will be given concrete organization expression on a national level here March 17 to 21, when some 6,000 delegates and observers gather for the Third Bi-Annual National Black Political Convention.

Since the first National Black Political Assembly (NBA) Convention in Gary, Indiana, in 1972, the NBA has gone through several significant changes aimed at eliminating sectarianism, broadening its community base and purifying its ranks.

The theme for the 1976 Black Convention is "Which Way Black Nation; Towards a '76 Political Strategy." The Convention will focus on the building of a mass-based independent Black political movement for 1976 and beyond.

A press statement released by the NBA last week states:

"After preliminary Convention Committee meetings and Platform Hearings on Wednesday, March 17, the Convention activities will formally begin on Thursday, March 18, with a testimonial luncheon hosted by the Cincinnati Chapter of the National Assembly. The testimonial will be a 'Salute to Theodore M. Berry,' veteran

civil rights freedom fighter, a past deputy director of OEO and former mayor of the city of Cincinnati, Ohio.

"The opening session of the Convention and the official seating of the delegates will take place on Thursday evening at the Cincinnati Convention Center. Among those who have been invited to participate in the opening session are: Lerone Bennett, author-lecturer and senior editor of *Ebony* magazine; Congressman Ronald V. Dellums of California; and former Wash-

ington, D.C., school superintendent and longtime community activist, Barbara Sizemore. A broad cross-section of national Black leaders and representatives of African nations have also been invited to be present at the opening session as official platform guests.

"Convention activities on March 19 will consist of a series of 14 information and issue-oriented Open Forums with panels of experts from the national Black community dealing with a wide range of topics from the concerns



The Third Bi-Annual National Black Political Convention will focus on the building of a mass-based Black political strategy for 1976 and beyond.



Ericka Huggins Leads Community Political Education Session

(Oakland, Calif.) - "FBI Efforts To Destroy the Black Panther Party" was the subject of last Sunday's thought-provoking Community Political Education session, led by Ms. ERICKA HUGGINS (right, above), a leading member of the Black Panther Party.

The community sessions are held every first and third Sunday of the month at the headquarters of the Black Panther Party, 8507 East 14th Street, East Oakland, at 2 p.m., and are open to all members of the community.

The next Community Political Education session will be held on Sunday, February 1.

BPINS photos



Bare San Quentin Adjustment Center cell.

S.Q. 6 TRIAL

Psychiatrist Confirms Adjustment Center Cruelties

(San Rafael, Calif.) - "The Adjustment Centers were initially created to house the so-called management problems throughout the prison system in California. The initial plan was that they would be treatment centers with a high ratio of staff to prisoners and that there would be a professional staff.

"As a matter of fact, they never became treatment centers; there was no staffing by trained professionals, and the staffing pattern, although somewhat heavier than the prison in general, was not what was originally envisioned. They became super maximum security sections within each prison."

With these words, Dr. Frank Rundle, former chief psychiatrist at Soledad Prison, began his devastating critique of the California penal system's Adjustment Centers, those "prisons within a prison" which figure so heavily in the ongoing San Quentin 6 trial here.

It is the contention of the six Black and Brown prison inmates, particularly as expressed by astute attorney Charles R. Garry in his defense of Black Panther Party member Johnny Larry Spain, that the "cesspool-like" conditions within the notorious San Quentin Adjustment Center (AC) were one of the causes which sparked the deaths of three prison guards and three prison inmates — including the assassination of Black Panther Party Field Marshal George Jackson — on August 21, 1971.

Testifying as the first defense witness called by Brother Hugo Pinell, Dr. Rundle, under close questioning by attorney Garry, made these remarks as to the psychological pressures continued confinement in the AC

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

of Black women, youth and senior citizens to issues in economic development, politics and education. The Open Forums will be followed by a series of concurrent Skill Development Workshops which will be designed to provide information and skills in the areas of Voter Registration, Campaign Organization and Building Black Assemblies. A day long Political and Organizational Development Institute will also be held on the 19th to provide intensive training for NBA state and local organizers.

"The Convention is also slated to hear and discuss presentations from three key NBA officials. NBA political and organizational development chairperson, Mtangulizi Sanyika (formerly Haywood Henry), will discuss the NBA's 1976 Black Political Platform; and national chairperson Ron D. Daniels will outline the Goals and Future Direction of the National Black Assembly.

"The highlight and most historic moment of the Convention will come on Saturday, March 19, CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

WILBUR HADDOCK ADDRESSES S.F. "SPEAK OUT" FOR NATIONAL HARD TIMES CONFERENCE

"HARD TIMES ARE FIGHTING TIMES"

(San Francisco, Calif.) — *Hard Times Are Fighting Times* was the theme of "Speak Out on the Economic Crisis" held here in the oppressed Mission District last Friday as over 250 Bay Area progressives turned out to build the foundation for a growing movement to reverse the worsening conditions ravishing Black and poor communities throughout the nation.

Featuring Brother Wilbur Haddock, president of the United Black Workers of Mahwah, New Jersey, as its main speaker, last week's "Speak Out" served as a highly successful springboard for the National Hard Times Conference slated to be held in Chicago on the weekend of January 30 to February 1.

Casting aside his prepared speech, Brother Haddock began by asking rhetorically, "Why do we need a Hard Times Conference?"

His answer was pure and simple: "We're having a Hard Times Conference to get together. We are not together, and because we are not together, that's why the system can increase its racist police forces to shoot us down in the streets. That's why they can laugh at — and jail — a sister who defends herself when she is raped."

COMING TOGETHER

"The Hard Times Conference should be looked at as a way of coming together, talking with each other, listening to each other, drafting some kind of working document, some action programs, so we can go back to our communities and seriously start fighting to get these 'hard times' off our backs."

Again and again Brother Haddock, who is a leading member of the Hard Times Conference National Advisory Board, stressed the importance of the unity of all concerned people to build the movement for economic justice and improving the plight of the poor and oppressed:

"We're saying that local actions should be hooked up together and raised to a national level, actions which can then take place all across the country on mass levels. This is the kind of movement that wins victories — and we need victories for our people."

"All the talk in the world cannot take the place of victories. It's action (that's needed). And the Conference is talking about developing mass action."



WILBUR HADDOCK, president of the United Black Workers in Mahwah, New Jersey, was the featured speaker at the Hard Times "Speak Out." Other speakers included (inset, left to right) ARNOLD TOWNSEND, Ms. LOUISE SWEENEY and CARLOS VASQUEZ.

On the scope of the Conference, Brother Haddock explained, "We're not saying that because we're demanding jobs, we're ignoring the welfare struggles, the day care struggles. We're saying that jobs are incorporated in all those struggles — jobs are key."

"The fight for jobs is the fight for day care, welfare, housing and education. If you don't have a job, you are forced to live in the worst part of town. You can't afford any kind of services."

"Jobs are important, but the Conference is not just concerned about jobs. The Conference is

concerned about all the services that are being cut back. The Conference is concerned about people."

Prior to Brother Haddock's unity message, Brother Arnold Townsend of WAPAC (Western Addition Planning Action Committee), Carlos Vasquez of CASA (Centro de Accion Social Autonoma), and Ms. Louise Sweeney, a childcare worker, addressed the "Speak Out" audience.

All three spoke of the need to, as Brother Vasquez put it, "Prepare for the 'hard times' for the ruling class in this country."

Willie Tate Going Back To Jail?

(San Rafael, Calif.) — San Quentin Six defendant Willie Tate, free on \$100,000 bail for a year after completing a 10-year sentence, may have to return to jail. His bail expired on January 15, and must now be renewed. Tate's lawyer, John Hill, has asked Superior Court Judge Henry Broderick to release Tate on his own recognizance, or at least to reduce the bail to an amount his family can afford.

According to Hill, a huge bail for a poor person must be raised from wealthy supporters and is less effective than a smaller amount which can be raised from the defendant's own family. Tate's family with whom he is very close, are people of modest means.

During the year, Tate has lived in San Rafael and made every court appearance for his trial. On Wednesdays, when court is not in session, he works at the Children's Center in San Rafael. Many who know him believe his record fully justifies release on his own recognizance.

But, at a hearing on January 12, Broderick reduced the bail only to \$50,000, still far beyond any amount his family can pay, while insisting that Tate's parents' car and house be part of the collateral, as well as houses and autos belonging to his sisters. The family put up their houses and cars. But now Tate must raise \$5,000 in cash for the bail premium or be sent back to jail.

**THIS WEEK IN
BLACK
HISTORY****January 21, 1830**

In an act not surprising considering the blatant racism of many White people in America, on January 21, 1830, the entire Black community of Portsmouth, Ohio, was forcibly deported by order of city authorities.

January 18, 1949

On January 18, 1949, Congressman William L. Dawson was approved as chairman of the House Expenditures Committee. He was the first Black man to head a standing committee of Congress.

January 23, 1962

Universities often carefully promote an image of liberality while maintaining racist policies and practices. At the University of Chicago this lie was exposed when, on January 23, 1962, demonstrations were staged by students against discrimination in off-campus housing. CORE charged that the University operated about 10 segregated apartment houses throughout the city of Chicago.

January 19, 1970

On January 19, 1970, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to strike down jury selection laws in Alabama and Georgia on appeals that the laws had been used to exclude Blacks from the jury lists. Justice William Douglas dissented in the Alabama case, arguing that the government of Alabama should be ordered to appoint Blacks to the Greene County Jury Commission in proportion to their percentage of the population.

January 22, 1971

On January 22, 1971, Black Congressmen in the House of Representatives united to boycott Richard Nixon's "State of the Union" message because of the President's "consistent refusal" to hear pleas and concerns of Black Americans.



Comrade MORRIS WHITE collecting donations for BPP Survival Programs.

Seattle B.P.P. Member Cleared Of False Solicitation Charges

(Seattle, Wash.) - Brother Morris White of the Seattle Chapter of the Black Panther Party has been recently cleared of charges stemming from police intimidation and brutalization that he and another Party member, Sister JoAnn Moton, suffered last June in the Seattle Police Department's unsuccessful move to end solicitation for the Free Breakfast Program and sales of THE BLACK PANTHER newspaper (See THE BLACK PANTHER, July 7, 1975).

In hearings in the Municipal Court here, Brother White was cleared of a disorderly conduct charge but was found guilty of resisting arrest.

The conviction was appealed in Superior Court where, after two days of testimony by the arresting officers and defense witnesses, Morris was cleared of this false charge also.

At the hearing one of the arresting officers admitted under defense counsel questioning that they had "arrested Morris to impress on him that he better change his method of solicitation."

In response to this police harassment the Seattle Black Panther Party Chapter has filed complaints against the police department, the two officers, Bisson and Elmore (both of whom are known for their hatred of people soliciting for Party programs) and the local city ordinance against soliciting.

To speed change of the arbitrary solicitation ordinance.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

200 PAY TRIBUTE TO BOB WELLS AT MOVING S.F. FUNERAL

DIES OF HEART ATTACK AFTER 47-YEAR PRISON STRUGGLE

"Some people are more in prison than I ever was. . ."

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Some 200 friends and supporters gathered here at Coleman Funeral Home on January 15 to honor and pay tribute to the life and indomitable spirit of Brother Wesley Robert (Bob) Wells, who after emerging triumphant from 47 years in prison in July, 1974, tragically died last week of a sudden heart attack at the age of 66.

UNUSUALLY WARM

Outside, the unusually warm mid-January sun shone bright and clear, yet inside a melancholy pall cloaked the hearts and emotions of those who came to praise Bob Wells, the Black man who forged an undying example of resistance to injustice and oppression while incarcerated longer than any other prison inmate in state history.

In an exclusive interview with THE BLACK PANTHER upon his release in 1974, Bob Wells provided these biographical details:



BPINS photo

Young pallbearers stand before the coffin of WESLEY ROBERT WELLS (right), who spent 47 of his 66 years behind bars.

Born to Will and Ada Pearl Wells in Fort Worth, Texas, on May 23, 1909, Bob was orphaned at the age of six and moved to Los Angeles to stay with an aunt.



Inez Garcia Vows To Fight For Women's Rights

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Just released on bail after serving over a year of a five-year-to-life sentence for the 1974 murder of a man who helped to rape her, Ms. INEZ GARCIA (center, above) told a press conference here last week that she wants to use her freedom to fight for women's rights.

Ms. Garcia is free on \$5,000 bail from the state prison in Frontera, California, following the recent overturning of her conviction by the California Court of Appeals which ordered a new trial for the 31-year-old wife and mother on the grounds that the judge incorrectly instructed the jury in the celebrated murder trial in Monterey, California, which ended in Inez' conviction of second-degree murder on October 4, 1974.

Inez, flanked above by her husband JUAN (left) and attorney, SUSAN JORDAN (right), said, "It feels great to be out and it gives me a chance to fight better." She added that she hoped men would join women in fighting against rape. "Women get raped every day, not just me. That's everybody's fight," she said.

BPINS photo



Living with relatives who didn't want him, Bob was sent to Alvarado School for Boys at the age of eight. In 1927, Bob Wells was sent to San Quentin for allegedly possessing stolen clothes, and except for a brief eight-month release, remained captive for the next 47 years within California prisons.

In 1944, Bob was charged, convicted and sentenced to death for throwing a spittoon at a guard. He then spent the next seven years on San Quentin's Death Row, actually coming within a few hours of being legally executed.

When Bob Wells triumphantly walked, with the help of a cane, through the doors of the California Medical Facility at Vacaville in July, 1974, a wide grin beautifully engraved on his aged face, he

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CALIFORNIA ASSEMBLYWOMAN INTRODUCES BILL TO PROHIBIT "REDLINING"

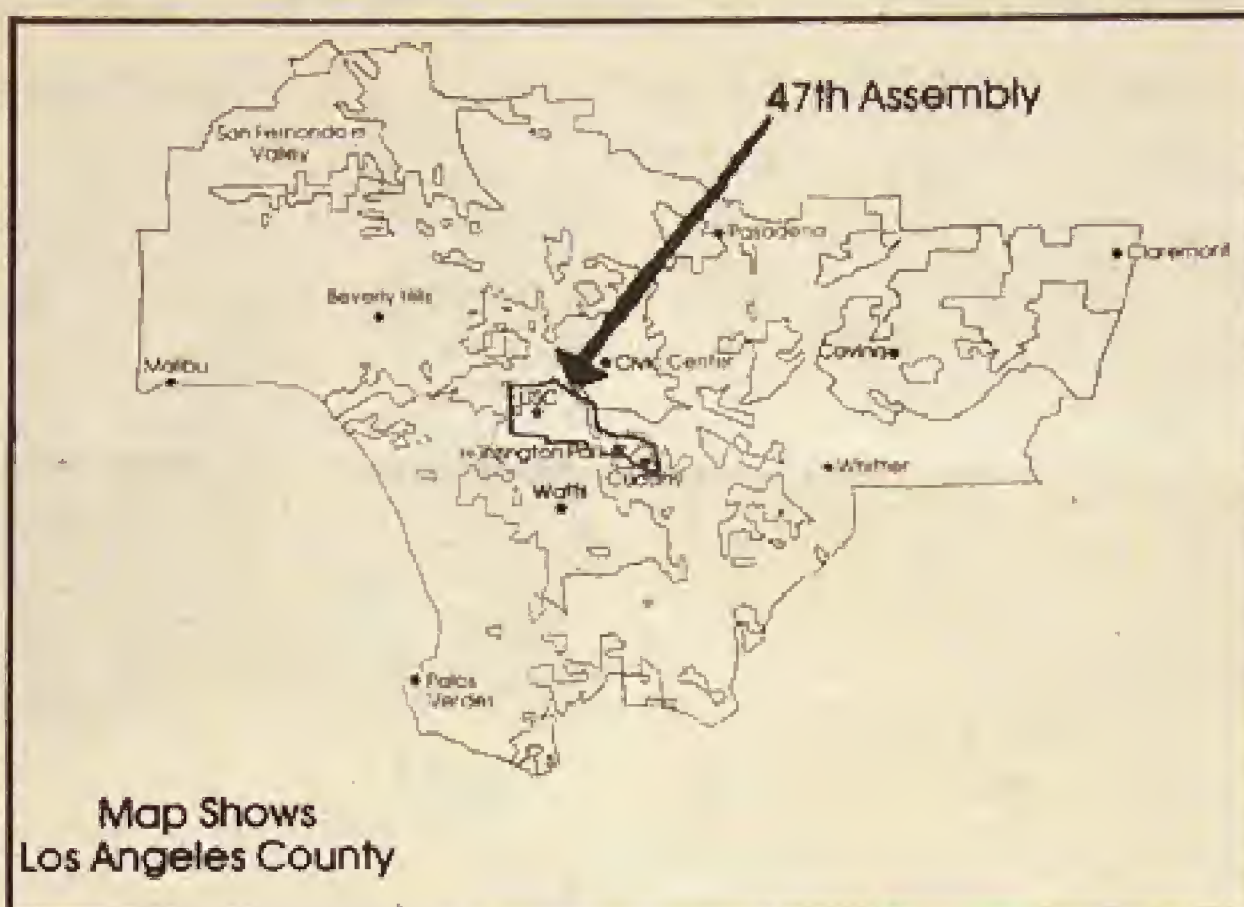
(Sacramento, Calif.) - State Assemblywoman Teresa P. Hughes recently introduced landmark legislation to prohibit "redlining" housing discrimination and subject violators to provisions of the Rumford Fair Housing Act.

"When lending institutions deny loans to qualified senior citizens, working class and minority homeowners in specific geographic locations, urban decay soon results," declared Assemblywoman Hughes, who is Black and represents a predominantly Black district in Los Angeles.

"I am introducing this bill on the first day of the 1976 legislative session because 'redlining' must end immediately," the legislator added.

This bill extends the provisions of the Rumford Fair Housing Act to prohibit loan discrimination to credit worthy persons for financing the purchase, construction or rehabilitation of their homes. The state will be required to review citizen complaints of "redlining" discrimination and issue cease and desist orders when such unlawful discrimination is found.

Furthermore, the bill defines



Map Shows
Los Angeles County

Vast areas of Los Angeles County, including the 47th Assembly District which Sister Hughes represents, are crippled by the vicious practice of "redlining."

"credit worthy person" as a person who would otherwise qualify for a loan if the house were located in another geographical location.

SURVEY

A recent survey prepared by the Federal Home Loan Bank Board reveals that qualified minorities and blue-collar citizens who apply for home loans have the highest rejection rate of any group. "In 'redlined' areas, people with good credit ratings find it practically impossible to obtain home loans" Ms. Hughes added.

This bill takes a sound realistic approach to ending "redlining."

Unlike the administration proposal which creates Boards of Inquiry, this legislation adds "redlining" to the jurisdiction of the State Fair Employment Practices Commission (which administers the Rumford Fair Housing Act). In addition, the Health & Safety Code provides that the FEPC can order the discriminating institution to make \$1,000 damage payment to the person denied a loan.

Assemblyman Hughes has also introduced a second bill which would prohibit the state from depositing state funds in any bank which practices "redlining" discrimination. □

Seattle B.P.P. Member Cleared

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meetings have been held between the University District's Chamber of Commerce, members of the "Mini-City Hall" in the District, representatives from the mayor's office, concerned Black citizens and members of the Seattle Chapter.

The group found the existing statue to be repressive due to the arbitrary discretion it gives to the police to select who should and who shouldn't be arrested for violation of the ordinance.

Community persons in attendance at the meeting displayed disgust and anger when they heard of the harassment that members of the Party are subjected to when selling THE BLACK PANTHER or collecting funds for the Breakfast Program.

At one meeting members of the Chamber of Commerce even

lauded Party members for the pleasant atmosphere they created in the District shopping area with their polite and courteous manner of selling papers and collecting funds for the Free Breakfast Program, which weekly feeds over 1,200 Black and poor children at five sites dispersed throughout the city of Seattle. □



Free Breakfast Program providing a hot, nutritious meal.

OUR HEALTH



The State Of America's Health

(Washington, D.C.) - A comprehensive report on the state of the nation's health released here last week said that the softness of the American lifestyle continues to be one of the country's major health hazards.

The report, made by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), said that while the American population is basically healthy, "The data suggests that much improvement in health status could come from individual action."

Pointing out the contradictions in the study, Dr. Theodore Cooper, the assistant HEW secretary, whose staff prepared the report, went on to say, "The report shows considerable achievement as well as need for improvement."

Figures gathered by HEW show that excessive use of alcohol and tobacco and the lack of proper exercise and diet contribute heavily to cancer, heart and respiratory ailments, kidney and liver disease and accidents — a major killer among young people.

Dr. Cooper said, "The death rate for heart disease, for example, among persons ages 55 to 64 dropped almost 15 per cent over the last six years. But in the same age group, the death rate from cancer rose almost four per cent."

The HEW study found that the infant mortality rate has also continued to drop, from 29.2 per 1,000 live births in 1950 to an estimated 16.5 in 1974. However, the U.S. still ranks 15th among the nations of the world in infant deaths.

Tests "Unreliable"

(Washington, D.C.) - A government study has concluded that coal mine dust-checking procedures are unreliable and of little value in protecting coal miners against black lung disease that is caused by the dust.

The General Accounting Office, an investigative arm of Congress, said present methods make it impossible to determine whether coal operators are complying with federal health standards in their mines. □



"Until We're Free"

A powerful, yet tender and important new album by Elaine Brown. The songs on the album weave a beautiful tapestry of protest against the quality of life for Black Americans. Listeners will find themselves engulfed in a flow of emotion as Elaine's melodic voice works its magic. Once you have heard "Until We're Free", you will understand why Huey P. Newton says: "A consuming talent, a total dedication and a proven commitment are combined in Elaine Brown, making her the first genuine People's Artist America has produced."

To purchase this album, send \$4.00 cash or money order to: Central Distribution, 8501 E. 14th Street, Oakland, California 94621. Also available at major record stores near you.

SONGS WRITTEN AND PERFORMED
BY ELAINE BROWN
ALBUM PRODUCED AND DISTRIBUTED
BY MOTOWN RECORD CORP.

BLACK LAWYERS GROUP WARNS OF DANGERS IN SENATE BILL #1



GREG JONES.

Greg Jones Murder Trial To Begin

(Oakland, Calif.) - Brother Greg Jones, a former progressive organizer at the Caterpillar Tractor Company in San Leandro, California, is scheduled to go on trial on January 27 at the Alameda County Superior Court here, having suffered a mental collapse from the pressures of his relentless efforts at fighting for workers' rights at the reactionary multinational firm, and during his mental blackout, apparently murdered a man.

Brother Jones has entered a plea of not guilty by reason of insanity, according to a press release issued recently by the Greg Jones Defense Committee.

At his trial the defense will show how the racism and harassment he was constantly subjected to as a result of his efforts to bring positive change at Caterpillar finally took its toll.

SERIES

On the morning of October 17, after a lengthy series of acts of harassment by the company, Greg suffered a mental breakdown on the job.

It was following this that, due to insensitive medical treatment, he was allowed to be out on his own in the streets and became involved in a minor traffic accident which, due to his emotional state, resulted in the tragic shooting by Greg of another motorist. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, November 22, 1975).

Dr. Richard Komisaruk, the court-appointed psychiatrist who examined Greg after the shooting, supports the position that Greg was legally insane at the time of the murder.

Several of Greg's co-workers, members of his family and community supporters have organized a Defense Committee to demand that the charges against him be dropped. They point to the medical evidence and the history of discrimination at Caterpillar and insist that the giant company, rather than Greg, must be held responsible. □

(Chicago, Ill.) - The Chicago chapter of the National Conference of Black Lawyers (NCBL) has issued a warning to the community on the high level of repression that will be legally enforced if Senate Bill #1 (S.1) is passed.

S.1 is presently being debated in the U.S. Senate. It is described in the NCBL's press release as an attempt to initiate "a new anti-Constitutional, ultra-conservative federal criminal justice system."

The Black attorneys go on to say:

"It should be understood that the recent revelations of the illegal activities of the FBI and the CIA will be legalized if this bill is passed. S.1 reaffirms the right of the President to wiretap any domestic activities which he deems to be a "danger to the structure" or government.

"It provides for 48 hour 'emergency' wiretaps without court approval. S.1 also broadens the areas where wiretapping is permitted as part of the investi-

gative processes by requiring 'landlords' and telephone companies to cooperate 'forthwith' and 'unobtrusively' with government agents/wiretappers. Adequate compensation for requested cooperation/assistance will be given to the parties.

"S.1 makes it illegal to have membership in an organization that advocates change in the government. Organizations such

as the NAACP, Operation PUSH, The Woodlawn Organization (TWO), The National Council of Churches, the Westside Organization, SCLC, Black P. Stone Nation, Black Panther Party, Illinois Prisoners Organization, National Conference of Black Lawyers and other people oriented community organizations will continuously be infiltrated and 'set-up' for legal lynchings. Their



Peaceful demonstrations against this repressive government will no longer be allowed under Senate Bill #1.

Supreme Court To Hear Appeal In Wilmington 10 Case

(Washington, D.C.) - The Supreme Court was expected last week to consider the appeal of the Wilmington 10. The high court has received petitions from the "Ten" to overturn their sentences totalling 248 years, handed down in North Carolina in 1972, and, "in all probability," according to attorney James Ferguson, will hear it.

Attorney Ferguson, who has been in charge of the case from its beginning, says, "With the amount of public interest that's been generated around the case, and the blatant injustice growing out of a state conspiracy against my clients, we are convinced the high court recognizes the necessity of hearing our appeal."

The Wilmington 10 were indicted and convicted on various charges of conspiracy after carrying out an organized, nonviolent protest against racism in the Wilmington, North Carolina, school system in 1971.

The group is widely considered to have been railroaded into jail. Representative Robert Kastenmeier, who chairs the House Subcommittee on Courts, Civil Liberties and the Administration of Justice, has requested infor-

mation from both the FBI and the Treasury Department on the case. He says the sentencing of the Rev. Ben Chavis, one of the 10 and who is regarded as a leader of the group, "may have resulted in highly questionable testimony of paid informers, and that the government's interest in prosecuting him may have been politically motivated."

DOCUMENTED

Attorneys for the Wilmington 10 have documented over 2,000 errors in the state's presentation. Among other "serious questions" that the defense attorneys raise in the case are: rights have been infringed by not having a fair and impartial jury; excessive bail, totalling \$400,000; and withholding of evidence from the defense.

Attorney Ferguson says, "The evidence documenting racist prejudice on the part of the state authorities in this case is overwhelming."

The group has generated considerable national support by the United Church of Christ, the National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression, and other national and local organizations. □

members will be harassed and jailed. This activity of disruption will be covert and have the total legal sanction of the courts and government. Further, S.1 makes an organization liable for the conduct of its agents.

"Free speech and press will be drastically curtailed by the passage of S.1. People will no longer be allowed to peaceably demonstrate dissatisfaction or petition the government openly for the redress of grievances. Such demonstrations and redress will be solely determined by officials and at their discretion. Therefore, complaints of government malfunctioning and mismanagement can be considered conduct which suggests the overthrow of the government and will be treated as such.

"S.1 further legitimates the 'Watergate defenses' by freeing federal officials from criminal sanctions for illegal acts as long as they believed their conduct was authorized by the President. The above is only a small capsule of the overall bill. There are many hidden dangers which the public must be alerted to.

"Both the National Office and local Chapters of NCBL intend to educate the general community about the dangers of S.1 and to wage a vigorous legal and nonlegal campaign against this bill. We must unite to defeat this repressive legislation now." □

SOUTHERN BLACK ELECTRICAL WORKERS WIN FIVE-YEAR BATTLE AGAINST G.E.

Victory Vote Approves Union Affiliation

(Charleston, S.C.) - Predominantly Black electrical workers here recently ended a five-year struggle against the General Electric Company with a victory vote to affiliate with the United Electrical Workers Union (UE), reports the *Guardian* newspaper.

The victory has dealt a serious blow to plans by General Electric (GE) and Westinghouse to keep the power of employees of the multitude of turbine plants they have set up throughout the South in the last 10 years unorganized and in disarray.

"We have fought and we have won, but... this is a company that is not going to let the effort that we, the majority of the people, put forth to organize ourselves succeed without giving us a fight," said Black fabrication welder Carrell Gathers, realizing that their struggle was far from ended.

"Let's prepare ourselves because we really deserve the right to have our own union," he added.

in downgradings for a number of people."

Another promise GE circumvented was allowing employees to take their vacations one day at a time. This was done by purposely scheduling shutdowns so the workers lost their day-at-a-time vacation rights.

Enoch Dickerson, a machine operator, explained, "That opened a lot of people's eyes to what the company would pull to beat the union and it showed we had nothing to lose with the union, only something to gain — like the right to speak your mind in the plant without fear."

GE workers faced company harassment, anti-union propaganda and slandering of the UE down to the day of the election. The company even went so far as to have radio and TV commercials urging workers to vote "No." All this reactionary furor was useless as the union won by a 353-349 vote.

Since then GE has filed charges against the elections with the

National Labor Relations Board (NRLB). The UE workers understand, however, that the election victory — which resulted in the establishment of UE local 1202 — is just another important step in their struggle.

New contract negotiations will be coming up in the next few months. The possibility that GE could tie up the Charleston local in NRLB hearings and prevent the new local from participating in the UE negotiations has been cited by informed sources as a strong reason for GE's actions. Such stalling and harassment tactics were used in 1973 to prevent the Tampa, Florida, UE local from joining in negotiations.

The UE workers in Charleston are resolutely working to consolidate their victory by building their local and winning certification.

The UE itself is continuing its Southern organizing drive, which is significant for its progressive role in the trade union movement, and many observers expect a national strike — as early as 1979 — in the electrical industry. □



Black workers at GE plant in Charleston, S.C., celebrate election victory vote at United Electrical Workers Union local headquarters.

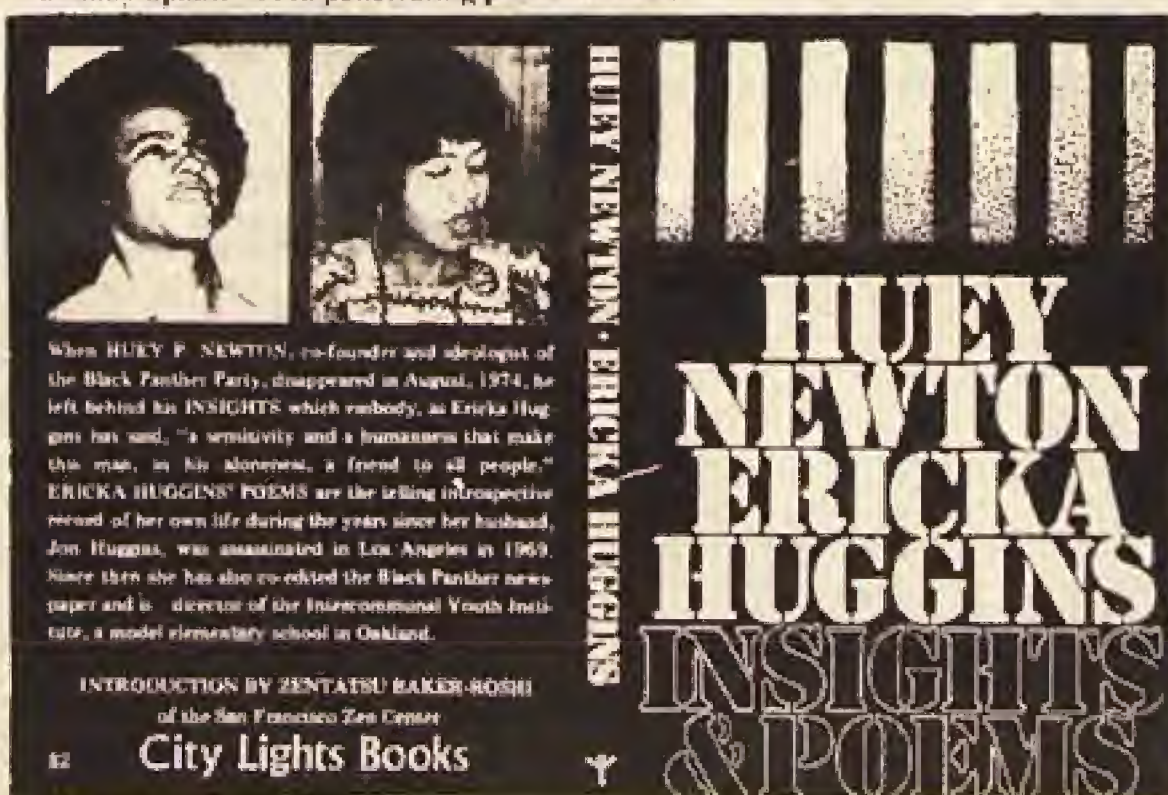
Following an unsuccessful unionization election in 1974, workers from the plant demonstrated and petitioned for "\$.75 Now," an across-the-board pay increase for all workers.

GE, which maintains the position of strongly opposing any unionizing of its employees, responded to the "\$.75 Now" drive by underhandedly granting pay increases of up to \$.36 an hour to certain workers, depending on labor grade and classification, leaving many Black workers out entirely.

Meanwhile, the company began making false promises, using the same method that had helped defeat the union in the first election.

Bill Goff, a GE tool calibrator, pointed out, "The company had promised to re-evaluate all of our jobs, but when it did, it resulted

—Johnny Spain: "... a penetrating probe for truth



By Black Panther Party leader
HUEY P. NEWTON
and
Oakland Community School Director
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PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

S.E.C. Investigating Corporations

(Washington, D.C.) - Roderrick Hills, chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), revealed recently an investigation is underway of "about 30" unspecified major U.S. companies and corporations for alleged misuse of funds to make kickbacks, bribes and illegal political contributions, among other illegalities. SEC has already gone to court against the major corporations and in six of those cases the companies have agreed to end such abuses.

Ex-Lt. Governor "Anti-Chavez"

(San Jose, Calif.) - Admitted political burglar Jerry Ducote has exposed former California Lieutenant Governor John Harmer as "one of many people in high places" who knew about and tried to profit from illegal break-ins of Cesar Chavez' farm labor movement headquarters. In 1968, when Harmer had aspirations to run for state attorney general, he was trying to raise money from the large governors and "he put out a publication that took off on the Chavez organization and used the stolen files for the anti-Chavez tract," Ducote revealed.

Report Blames Violence On Whites

(Taft, Calif.) - A state attorney general's report recently released on the racial violence which rocked this small oil town last Memorial Day weekend has admitted that "the Whites were the aggressors at all times." In the typical style of American "justice" though, the report adds that, "Witnesses have dispersed and it is extremely difficult to obtain evidence sufficient to successfully prosecute."

I.R.S. Seizures Illegal

(Washington, D.C.) - An Internal Revenue Service (IRS) practice of seizing a taxpayer's property and selling it to pay back taxes without allowing the person to litigate the assessment in tax court was ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court last week. The Court found that tax law as well as legislative history requires the IRS to provide certain procedural safeguards in its emergency assessment proceedings.



Segregated schools do not provide a creative atmosphere for Black children.

Chicago Schools Still Segregated

(Springfield, Ill.) - Chicago and 33 other school districts in the state of Illinois do not meet state desegregation guidelines, the state superintendent of education admitted here recently.

Joseph M. Cronin, state superintendent, revealed that 19 of the districts have not been in compliance since desegregation guidelines were issued in 1972 while 15 other districts supposedly were once in compliance but now are not.

Cronin's revelations came as a result of accusations by Ruben Cruz, chairman of the Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, that the state has failed to enforce desegregation.

Cruz stated, "Desegregation has been ignored in many school districts in Illinois and barely addressed in the other school districts. This results in widespread segregated education throughout the state to the detriment of educational opportunities for members of minority groups."

Thirteen of these districts, including Chicago, have yet to offer desegregation plans on the local implementation of state guidelines that each public school in Illinois should have a pupil make-up within 15 per cent of the district-wide racial population.

The guidelines were issued in 1972 by former superintendent Michael Bakalis and at the time 21 districts failed to meet these standards. Since then, only two of these districts now comply.

"This appalling situation is allowed to continue," Cruz said, "because of the inaction of the state board of education and its predecessor, the superintendent of public instruction, in enforcing state laws and state guidelines in flagrant disregard of Constitutional guarantees." □

CHICAGO POLICE CHIEF AND WHITE COP GROUPS BACK MAYOR DALEY IN RACIAL QUOTA DISPUTE

(Chicago, Ill.) - Chicago Police Superintendent James M. Rochford and three White police organizations of the city have given their unqualified support of Mayor Richard "Boss" Daley's violation of a court ruling ordering the Chicago Police Department to hire more Black, Latin and women police officers.

In bitter language, as reported by the *Chicago Tribune*, Rochford said that the ruling of U.S. District Court Judge Prentice Marshall "appears hostile, reflects bias, contains contradictions and inaccuracies. . ."

POLICE ORGANIZATIONS

The three police organizations critical of the ruling are the Confederation of Police (COP), the United Law Enforcement Association (ULEA) and the Chicago Patrolmen's Association (CPA). John Steiner, the new president of COP, is quoted by the *Tribune* as saying that the ruling is "just a different form of discrimination. In our view, reverse discrimination is not better than any other kind."

Also expressing his total opposition to Judge Marshall's ruling, Joseph LeFevour, president of ULEA, a new organization, described the court order as "ridiculous."

CPA head Joseph Peccoraro commented: "With Judge Marshall's decision, it seems like we're separating people. We have to hire Blacks, Latinos and women instead of saying we're all Americans and have to compete for the job."

RULING

Under Judge Marshall's ruling, the Chicago Police Department must hire 42 per cent of its new officers from Black and Latino applicants, 16 per cent from women applicants and 42 per cent from male applicants of other racial groups. (See THE

BLACK PANTHER, January 17, 1976.)

Daley has been fighting the federal court ruling for over a year but recently claimed that if Judge Marshall would release \$76 million of the \$95 million in 1975-76 revenue-sharing funds due the city, he (Daley) would hire 400 police officers from the 1971 and 1972 applicant lists according to a formula ordered by Judge Marshall.

The original court action against the Chicago Police Department charging it with racial bias was initiated by the Afro-American



Racist Chicago police brutalize Spanish brother and countless others with the endorsement of Mayor Daley.

"Father Of Black History" Carter Woodson Honored



(Washington, D.C.) - The great Black scholar and historian, Dr. Carter G. Woodson, called the "Father of Black History," was honored in New Canton, Virginia, recently by the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History (ASALH) which dedicated a bronze plaque at his birthsite. The special ceremony took place on December 19, the 100th anniversary of Dr. Woodson's birth.

Educated at many prestigious institutions, including the Sorbonne in Paris, Dr. Woodson received his Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1912. In 1915 he founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, now the ASALH. In 1921, Dr. Woodson founded the Associated Publishers and originated Negro (now Black) History Week in 1926. He wrote 21 books in his lifetime and conducted extensive research in Black history.

Patrolmen's League (AAPL) in 1970. The Justice Department filed its lawsuit against the Department in 1973.

In addition, Justice Department officials are also setting up meetings with city officials and have already had one such meeting with Robinson. The AAPL considers the Justice Department to be a "johnny-come-lately" in the case and Skinner has arranged meetings with Robinson and AAPL officials in an effort to reassure them they will not be excluded in an agreement with the city.

City attorneys recently went before a three-judge appellate court panel to argue for the freeing of the revenue-sharing funds—opposed by Robinson—on grounds that the city has complied with Marshall's orders. Thomas A. Gottschalk, an attorney for the AAPL, argued that obeying court orders is not enough and that the city is required by federal regulations to submit assurances that it will eliminate discrimination by setting up affirmative action programs. □

NORTH CAROLINA WOMEN'S PRISON EXPOSED

"The Court System—Fair Or Unfair?"

By Ellen Amana Porter

Long ignored by the American establishment media, the struggle of women incarcerated in the prisons and jails of this country made banner headlines last June when over 500 inmates at the North Carolina Correctional Center for Women (NCCCW) in Raleigh conducted a peaceful protest against the inhumane conditions at the prison.

Following the four-day protest—which ended in brutal beatings for the women participants in the protest—37 women, charged with being the "ringleaders" of the demonstration, were illegally transferred to a men's prison where they were kept in solitary

"Society makes little or no effort to better the correctional department as it is easier to ignore it. The people on the streets are more concerned with the safety of their material possessions than the value of someone's future, maybe someone's life. These people fail to realize that the inmate cannot be confined forever, and will be released someday. If he or she has gained nothing from the correctional system, the crime will inevitably be repeated.

"I was convicted of armed robbery and sentenced to 30 years. There was a weapon involved, but I neither touched



Women prison inmates, long forgotten, are realizing the strength of their unity and are escalating their struggle.

confinement and denied their basic needs for weeks on end.

The following is a letter sent to **THE BLACK PANTHER** by Ms. Ellen Amana Porter, a Black inmate at NCCCW, who discusses the injustice of her own trumped-up case as well as the cruelty of life for all women confined to NCCCW.

"I am an inmate at the North Carolina Correctional Center for Women in Raleigh, North Carolina. I was sentenced to 30 years for armed robbery. I am 19 years old—in prison serving time for a crime that I did not commit.

"Why was I sent here and what does society expect to accomplish from my imprisonment? Our court system is so unbalanced that the naive offender does not really know where she stands. One tends to believe that society has dictated to the courts and the correctional system to 'get that girl off the streets and keep her off.' Society is not interested in the offender as a person, but only as thief, murderer, or some other low animal.

this gun, nor fired it. There were no witnesses and the injured party did not appear in court. The prosecution had no corroborating witnesses. No evidence was presented in open court. The co-defendant received 25-30 years, while I got a flat sentence of 30 years.

"We were tried in Wilson, North Carolina. I did not know anyone in Wilson, nor did I know

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22



For the first time, a federal judge in Alabama handed down a list of minimum standards that must be maintained for the operation of a state prison system, a victory for Black and poor inmates.

FEDERAL JUDGE ORDERS SWEEPING CHANGES FOR ALABAMA PENAL SYSTEM

(Montgomery, Ala.) - In the first such ruling ever made by a federal court, Alabama District Court Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr., last week handed down a comprehensive list of minimum Constitutional standards that must be maintained for the operation of a state prison system.

Deciding that Alabama prisons are plagued with "massive Constitutional infirmities," Judge Johnson ordered Governor George C. Wallace and other state officials to put the guidelines into effect within six months or explain to the court when they would be put into effect, reported *The New York Times*.

He also said that if physical conditions in the state's four main penal institutions were not corrected within a year, he might order some of the facilities closed.

The judge also warned state officials that they might be held personally liable for money damages if the conditions he

stated in the ruling were not corrected.

Referring to the "rampant violence and jungle atmosphere existing throughout Alabama's penal system," Judge Johnson said that almost all prisoners had to carry weapons for self-protection and that any person entering the system had "no chance of leaving the institution with a more positive or constructive attitude than the one he or she brought in."

An attorney for the Alabama Prison Board said that prison authorities will study the decision before commenting on plans for compliance and that no decision had been made on whether or not to appeal.

An attorney for the Alabama Prison Board said that prison authorities will study the decision before commenting on plans for compliance and that no decision had been made on whether or not to appeal.

The attorney went on to give the state an alibi for dragging its feet in implementing the order by saying that compliance "is going to take whopping sums of money, and I can't tell you where it is coming from."

Holding that incarceration in Alabama constitutes "cruel and unusual" punishment as prohibited by the Eighth Constitutional Amendment, Judge Johnson said that a lack of funds could not excuse the conditions.

"A state is not at liberty to afford its citizens only Constitutional rights which fit comfortably within its budget," was Judge Johnson's point-blank

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

Charges Dropped Against Robert Williams

(Monroe, N.C.) — The longtime political persecution of Black activist Robert Williams ended in a victory here last week when kidnapping charges against Brother Williams that had been pending for the last 14 years were dropped due to the illness of the key prosecution witness.

The charges had stemmed from an incident of August 27, 1961, when Brother Williams took Mr. and Mrs. G. Bruce Stegall to his house for their own protection after they arrogantly drove their car into a group of Black civil rights demonstrators.

The death of Stegall a year ago and the incapacitating illness of Mrs. Stegall forced Union County District Attorney Carroll Lowder to drop the charges against Williams. Lowder said Mrs. Stegall's testimony was "absolutely essential" to the prosecution's case.



Mausoleum of Suttan Qalawun (center) in Cairo's Community X.

...And Bid Him Sing

By David G. Du Bois

Exciting New Novel Examines Lives Of
Black Americans In Egypt

As we begin Part 15 of . . . And Bid Him Sing, Bob Jones explains to his friend Suliman Ibn Rashid the difference between Egyptian life in the city and in the country. The intriguing novel, written by BLACK PANTHER Editor-in-Chief David G. Du Bois examines the lives of self-exiled Black Americans living in Cairo, Egypt, during the period of the 1967 Middle East war. (Also, see review this page.)

PART 15

"They crack up when they see a Yemeni tribesman in his national dress, their own kinsman, in the same way they crack up when they see some European or American tourist marching down a Cairo street in some ridiculous costume best suited for an East African safari, or looking like they dragged themselves out of the depths of a dung heap."

"Well, what I see on these streets sure bugs me."

"What happens on the streets of Cairo is a long way from being typical of Egypt. Downtown Cairo is probably the least representative single area of Egypt in the behavior of its people. It's got little to do with showing off; 'See-me-in-the-big-city' shit. Cracking up is something unique to these streets. You'd never see it in an Egyptian village. Intense curiosity, even excitement, yes. But no such carrying on as you

see in central Cairo. Have you been to an Egyptian village yet?"

"No."

"Go, the first chance you get. . . even ten miles out of Cairo."

The doorbell sounded and I went to answer it.

The young man who came almost marching into the room with heavy steps and long strides, pushed out a large hand at Suliman before I could make an

introduction. Suliman, already standing, took it, but neither smiled.

"This is Fawzy, one of my closest friends," I said to Suliman. And to Fawzy: "This is Suliman Ibn Rashid, from America." Fawzy's face broke into a wide, surprised smile as he said:

"Salem we alaikum, welcome." Glancing at Suliman's bald head and not waiting for a reply to his greeting, he asked in halting English: "Are you a Black Muslim?"

"I'm a Moslem and I'm Black. But, I'm not a Black Muslim if you mean am I a member of the Nation of Islam," and, after an uncomfortable pause, "Alaikum we salem, thank you." They released hands and Suliman sat down at his place on the sofa and took up his book.

CONFUSION

Fawzy looked at me in confusion, not having fully understood all that Suliman had said. He sensed that he'd somehow been insulted, but he had no idea why or how, nor what he'd done or said wrong. He appealed to me with his eyes for an explanation.

"He's not of the sect of Elijah Muhammad," I said in Arabic. "He's a real Moslem. He's come here to study at Al Azhar."

"Why is he angry?" Fawzy asked.

"He's not angry at you. It's just his way. He's angry at America and everything white."

Fawzy's face screwed up with even more perplexity as he threw himself heavily into a chair and agitatedly tore through the pockets of the suede jacket he was wearing. I offered him a cigarette which he took.

TO BE CONTINUED

...And Bid Him Sing



...AND BID HIM SING

An exciting novel of Black Americans living in Egypt in the 1960s

By BLACK PANTHER Intercommunal News Service Editor-in-Chief DAVID G. DU BOIS

"David G. Du Bois' first novel makes a new space on the 'slim shelf' labelled Black expatriate fiction. . . . Most frighteningly accurate characterization of Ugly Afro-Americans in Africa is a sobering reminder of the special cultural baggage and blinders we carry home. In this case home is Cairo, Egypt. . . . In And Bid Him Sing, David Du Bois has given us a picture of our sixties through the eyes of another Black culture and understanding."

"Those of us who are planning to visit or live in Africa should see And Bid Him Sing as a kind of guide to bad manners abroad. And we who are ready to nostalgize the sixties would do well to read and recognize some parts of all of ourselves who grew so quickly and changed our race before we could change our minds."

Francille Rusan Wilson
The Black Scholar

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Black Wisconsin Assemblyman Lloyd Barbee Reviews

"...And Bid Him Sing"

In the following review of . . . And Bid Him Sing, Black Wisconsin Assemblyman Lloyd A. Barbee adds his voice to those who have hailed the novel for its important contribution to the contemporary literature of Black America.

David Du-Bois' novel reads like a vignette of history. Brief though the book is, the characters and events are sketched with enough detail for sharp contrast. The narrative of events, set in Egypt during the Sixties and ending with the Yom Kippur war, focusing on some U.S. Blacks living in Cairo, is told in a systematic and sympathetic manner.

One of the basic themes in this 224-page book published by Ramparts Press is the problem faced by some Blacks who have reached the age of majority but not maturity and who traveled abroad to seek identity, nationhood, religion and racial acceptance in Egypt — which they called Africa. Their odyssey of self-exile is cut short by Nasser's government ordering all Americans, including Blacks, to leave. The narrator, a journalist (Bob Jones), was the only Black permitted to stay as a result of his editor's request.

THE POET

The poet (Suliman Ibn Rashid) exemplifies the thoughts expressed by Countee Cullen: "Yet do I marvel at this curious thing: To make a poet black, and bid him sing!" Suliman is a student who doesn't study, a visitor who is rude to his hosts and in short is an interesting but ugly American without recognizing it. He does poetize but leaves singing to others.

What strikes me hard is the author's ability to present life within the context of the problems presented: anger, guilt, sex, intoxication, search for religious security and fight against racism. He never lets the spice of his characters overflow the novel. Thus verisimilitude (the appearance of truth) is firmly established and never shaken by romanticism or idealism.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

By Huey P. Newton

"Scoring"

In the conclusion of "Scoring," the twelfth chapter of Revolutionary Suicide, the political autobiography of Huey P. Newton, leader and chief theoretician of the Black Panther Party, Huey gives an account of how he was railroaded to the county jail because he did not have a jury of his peers.

PART 34

Melvin grabbed Lee's right arm and pushed him into a corner, where he fell, bleeding heavily. He got up and charged me again, and I continued to hold my knife ready. Then Melvin jumped between us, and Lee fainted in his arms. As Melvin took the knife from me, we turned to the rest of the people, and somebody asked, "Why did you

cut him?" Melvin said, "He cut him because he should have cut him," and we backed out of the room. Melvin wanted me to press charges against the man, but I would never go to the police.

About two weeks later, Odell Lee swore out charges against me. I don't know why he delayed so long, perhaps because he was in the hospital for a few days. Maybe he was hesitant. He had been talking about getting me, I know, but I also heard that his wife had urged him to press charges instead.

To me, he was not the kind of character who would go to the police. I saw him as a guy who would rather look for me himself and deal right there. When he sent word that he was after me, I started packing a gun. Instead, I was arrested at my house on a warrant and indicted for assault with a deadly weapon. After I pleaded not guilty, it went to a jury trial. I defended myself again.

FOUND GUILTY

I was found guilty as charged, but only because I lacked a jury of my peers. My defense was based on the grounds that I was not guilty, either by White law or by the culture of the Black community. I did not deny that I stabbed Odell Lee — I admitted it — but the law says that when one sees or feels he is in imminent danger of great bodily harm or death, he may use whatever force necessary to defend himself. If he kills his assailant, the homicide is justified.

This section of the California penal code is almost impossible for a man to defend himself under unless he is a part of the oppressor class. The oppressed have no chance, for people who sit on juries always think you could have picked another means of defense. They cannot see or understand the danger.

A jury of my peers would have understood the situation and exonerated me. But the jurors in Alameda County come out of big houses in the hills to pass judgement on the people whom they feel threaten their "peace." When these people see a scar on the face of a man on the block, they have no understanding of its symbolism.

Odell Lee got on the stand and said that his scar resulted from an



Because of our unjust judicial system the lives of many Black and poor people eventually lead to jail.

automobile accident. It may well have. But taking everything in context — his behavior at the party, the move toward his left hip, and his scar — my peers would never have convicted me.

Bobby Seale explains it brilliantly in *Seize the Time*: you may go to a party and step on someone's shoes and apologize, and if the person accepts the apology, then nothing happens. If you hear something like "An apology won't shine my shoes," then you know he is really saying, "I'm going to fight you." So you defend yourself, and in that case striking first would be a defensive act, not an offensive one. You are trying to get an advantage over an opponent who has already declared war.

It is all a matter of life styles that spills over into the problem of getting a jury of one's peers. If a truck driver is the defendant, should there be only truck drivers on the jury, or all White racists on the jury if a White racist is on trial? I say no.

There is, nevertheless, an internal contradiction in a jury system that totally divides the accused and his jury. Different cultures and life styles in America use the same words with different shades of meaning. All belong to one society yet live in different worlds.

I was found guilty of a felony, assault with a deadly weapon, and faced a long jail sentence for the first time. Before and during the trial, I had been out on bail for several months. I came to court each time I was supposed to, but when I was convicted, the judge decided to revoke my bail immediately and place me in custody of the bailiff while he considered what sentence to impose.

Wanting none of this, I demanded a sentence right then. The judge said that if he sentenced me then I would be

sent to the state penitentiary. I told him to send me there immediately so that I could start serving my time.

He refused, asking me, "Do you realize what you're saying? I said, 'I know what I'm saying, that you found me guilty. But I am not guilty, and now I don't want to wait around a month serving dead time while you think about it.'"

LIVE TIME

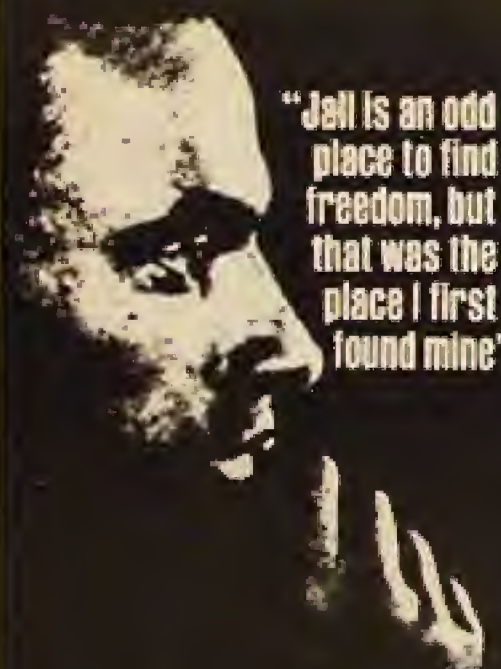
No time was dead to me. It was all live time, life. I felt that if the judge wanted to think about it for thirty days, he should let me stay out on bail while he did so. But he would not. He had me confined to the Alameda County Jail, a place I would get to know well — very well.

While I was waiting, my family hired a lawyer to represent me at the sentencing. The judge was a man named Leonard Dieden, who did not give lawyers, much less defendants, any respect. He has sent so many people to the penitentiary that a section of San Quentin is called "Dieden's Row." I was against my family hiring a lawyer because I felt it was useless. Nevertheless, they did, and he charged them \$1,500 to go to court one time. When I arrived for sentencing, he was there, and he worked his "white magic": the judge sentenced me to six months in the county jail.

Even though I had been convicted of a felony, the time they gave me was for a misdemeanor. This was to become a critical issue in my later capital trial, because the law says you can reduce a felony to a misdemeanor by serving less time. The penalty for a felony is no less than a year in the state penitentiary, and no more than a life sentence or death. For a misdemeanor maximum is one year in the county jail.

TO BE CONTINUED

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE



"Jail is an odd place to find freedom, but that was the place I first found mine"

Huey P. Newton

With power and passion, the co-founder of the Black Panther Party tells his life story. Here is the dynamic account of the making of a revolutionary. Boyhood amid a deeply religious and loving family. Adolescence as thief, hustler, ghetto-survivor. Murder trial for the death of a policeman—a cause celebre that inspired the militant cry "Free Huey." Conviction. Imprisonment. And final exoneration. Huey P. Newton's autobiography—in a most moving sense—is a testament to the black American's pain and dilemma in the 1970s. —Publishers Weekly

24 pages of photographs \$8.95

To purchase this book, send \$8.95 (hard-bound) or \$1.95 (paper-back) in cash or money order to: Central Distribution, 8501 E. 14th Street, Oakland, California 94621. Also available by Huey P. Newton: To Die For The People. \$1.95.

Harcourt Brace Jovanovich

U.S. MILITARY TRAINS FOREIGN TROOPS AS PART OF PENTAGON GLOBAL STRATEGY

As recent reports indicate, the U.S. government is actively training and arming foreign troops to fight against the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in that West African country. In Part I of the following informative article, the role of U.S. training of foreign troops in foster pro-American attitudes and policies in Latin American countries and the part such training plays in the Pentagon's global strategy is explained.

The article is reprinted from the January issue of the Latin America and Empire Report, published by the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA).

PAGE 1

The Hall of Fame of foreign graduates of U.S. military institutions can boast men like Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza, the current members of Chile's ruling military junta and military leaders in Brazil and Argentina. U.S. military training programs have been an effective instrument of U.S. foreign policy by indoctrinating Third World military officers with pro-U.S. attitudes and assumptions. Between 1950 and 1975 more than 425,000 foreign officers and enlisted men (including 64,000 Latin Americans) were trained under the Military Assistance Program



CMS GUEYERA fell victim to U.S.-trained Bolivian counterinsurgency troops

in the United States and Panama, with thousands of others receiving U.S.-sponsored in-country training. In 1975, \$296.5 million was slated for military training purposes, twice the amount spent on training in 1972. And a record 87 per cent of such training is now being paid for by the recipient countries through the Foreign Military Sales Act, reflecting the dramatic shift from grant aid to credit and cash sales.

The importance of these programs to Pentagon strategy is suggested by the following statement by former Defense Secretary McNamara to the Senate Appropriations Committee:

"Probably the greatest return on our military assistance investment comes from the training of selected officers and key specialists at our military schools and training centers in the United States and overseas. These students are handpicked by their countries to become instructors when they return home. They are the coming leaders—the men who will have the know-how and impact to their forces. I need not dwell upon the value of having in positions of leadership men who have firsthand knowledge of how Americans do things and how they think. It is beyond price to us to make friends of such men" (emphasis added).

TRAINING

The military training programs have one overriding purpose — to develop relationships with foreign military officers that will lead them to support U.S. policies internationally and to promote U.S. objectives in their own countries. In a major study of U.S. military training programs, Miles Wespiner concludes that the goals of the political indoctrination aspect



Peruvian troops specially trained in U.S. to suppress people's struggles against exploitation

of such training are to "(1) develop a propensity to police or agree to American policy suggestions; (2) structure a definition of national interest which precludes non-alignment; and (3) inculcate an ideology of development which favors the multinational corporations."

Most of the instructional programs, whether of a technical or strategic nature, include ideological material. The hint is staunchly anti-communist, portraying a stereotyped, inexorable view of communism. Conversely, the United States is portrayed as representing progress and as having the best form of government that man can hope to achieve.

More significantly, an attitude is inculcated that is critical or suspicious of any socialist or nationalist policy that a government might take. The notion is continually reinforced that "you're either with us or against us." Trainees from countries pursuing anti-U.S. policies or even neutral ones are made to feel that this is a wrong and dangerous approach and that they have the responsibility to correct it. According to a former State Department official, even the

word "communist" has been applied so liberally and so loosely to revolutionary or radical regimes that any government risks being so characterized if it adopts one or more of the following policies which the State Department finds distasteful: nationalization of private industry, particularly foreign-owned corporations; radical land reform; autarkic trade policies; acceptance of Soviet or Chinese aid; insistence upon following an anti-American or nonaligned foreign policy, among others.

ANTI-COMMUNIST ATTITUDES

The idea is not only to inculcate anti-communist attitudes, but to provide a framework for the officer to analyze situations just as his American counterparts would. As one military specialist put it, "U.S. training assistance is aimed less at hard military expertise than it is at the cultivation of internal political attitudes favorable to the United States."

U.S. officials believe that the training programs prevent or inhibit foreign officers from turning to the Soviet Union for such aid.

The closer the armed forces are to the United States, the less likely other countries, particularly communist ones, would be able to obtain any influence over these militaries. However, as suggested above, the goal of counteracting successfully nationalism among the military has not always been successfully met in U.S. terms.

HOW IT WORKS

However, advocates of the training program will believe that fostering ties between the military forces of Latin America and the United States promotes the best interests of the United States. In a reference to Latin American nationalism, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General George Brown recently stated that "one element remains strongly in U.S. favor, however, and that is the rapport between representatives of the U.S. Armed Forces and the Latin American military fraternity, which more often than not encompasses the leadership of the governments in these countries."

Even during the government of Salvador Allende — a target of economic and covert aggression by the U.S. government — Chilean military personnel continued to attend U.S. training courses, thus allowing the United States to further cultivate the already close relationship it had with the Chilean Armed Forces. In fact, at the moment of the coup, just as U.S. Chilean naval maneuvers known as UNITAS were taking place right off the coast of Chile.

10 IS CONTINUED

U.S. Secretly Trains Mercenaries To Fight In Angola

Reactionaries Funnel Aid Through Zaire For F.N.L.A.

In its characteristic arrogant manner of treating other nations of committing the very criminal actions that it daily engages in, the White House in recent weeks has publicly been highly critical of South Africa for sending troops to fight in Angola. Yet, as the following Pacific News Service article written by Michael Godel points out, the U.S. is secretly training a force of mercenaries to fight in Angola against the country's legitimate government, led by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

(Washington, D.C.) — While the U.S. publicly pressures South Africa to withdraw its regular troops from Angola, there are signs it

is secretly training a covert force of mercenaries — including South Africans — to fight there. This would repeat the pattern of the mid-1960's when the U.S. financed a largely South African mercenary army to crush a tribal rebellion for the pro-U.S. Congolese government.

Reliable diplomatic and Congressional sources have told Pacific News that the intelligence offices who directed American financing of mercenaries in the Congo from Zaire 10 years ago has returned to his old station in Kinshasa, Zaire — now the base for America's Angolan activities. This man could be directing the recruitment and supply of an army of mercenaries, as he did in the Congo fighting.

SPECULATION

Speculation about such financing has been widespread since President Ford refused to deny recently that the U.S. is funding the training of foreign mercenaries for Angola. "We are working with third countries," Ford said, "that feel they have an interest in giving the Angolans an opportunity to make the decision for themselves, and I think this is a proper responsibility of the federal government."

Zaire, a longtime supporter of the pro-U.S. FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola), clearly has such an interest. It has given economic subsidies to the FNLA and is reported to have 1,000 of its own troops fighting with the FNLA in northern Angola.



The Angolan people, led by the MPLA, have refused to submit to the treachery and deceit of the CIA and its puppets, FNLA and UNITA. By arming themselves with the tools of liberation (arms) and a strong ideology, the Angolan people will not allow foreign invaders and mercenaries to subvert the independent sovereignty of Angola as they did in the Congo in the 1960s.

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger admitted in testimony before the Senate Appropriations Committee on November 20 that because the U.S. gives Zaire aid and Zaire provides economic assistance to the FNLA, the U.S. was in fact providing "indirect subsidies" to pro-U.S. Angolan insurgents. The question now is whether the aid is direct, following the pattern of mercenary financing established in 1964-66 in the Congo.

There we hired an army of mainly South African mercenaries who hailed their way through the Congolese bush to defeat the Simba tribe, which threatened to break away from the Congo. The Simbas — machete-wielding tribesmen in the northeastern Congo who had lined up with the Soviet-backed government of Lumumba before he was overthrown — were supported by Cuban advisers and Czech arms.

Logistical support for the mercenaries was provided by COMUSC, the United States Military Mission in the Congo, in the form of C-130 air transport supplies and electronic communications.

Technically, the mercenaries were the Fifth Mechanized Brigade of the Congolese National Army (CNC) and the Congo, then run by Katangan ex-reegiment Moise Tshombe, was a Congressionally approved recipient of American military aid. Thus, officially, we were paying the Congolese National Army, which happened to have an all-white brigade in its midst.

The mercenaries, assisted on the ground by a Congolese brigade and in the air by COMUSC, successfully ended the Simba rebellion in 1965.

A small band of Simbas managed to hide in the hills around Lake Tanganyika, forgotten until last summer when they kidnapped — and later released — four American and Dutch students.

SCENARIOS

The scenario of 1964-66 seems repeatable today. Funds earmarked for Zaire or left in the "pipeline" for U.S. covert operations in Angola could be laundered through President Mobutu for a mercenary force within Zaire's army to be sent in on the side of the FNLA; or Mobutu could simply finance the training of mercenaries by the Angolans themselves.

Mercenaries have been active in other African wars — including the Haitian conflict and the Portuguese colonial wars — and the kind of men who made up the Fifth Mechanized Brigade commonly known as 5 commandos can be found anywhere. The proximity of South Africa and Rhodesia to Angola makes those countries, not to mention prime recruiting grounds.



FNLA headquarters in northern Angolan province was abandoned and destroyed in the face of rapidly advancing MPLA liberation forces



President MOBUTU SESE SEKO of imperialist-backed Zaire

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor

people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

Intercommunal News

AFRICAN LEADERS DENY U.S. PROPAGANDA OF O.A.U. SUMMIT "FAILURE"



Map of Angola (numbers point out locations of MPLA victories).

M.P.L.A. Armed Forces Driving Enemy F.N.L.A. Out Of Angola

(Luanda, People's Republic of Angola) — Western press reports indicate that the armed forces of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) are successfully driving Western-backed National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) troops out of Angola and back into Zaire over the northern border.

The drive aimed at smashing the military capacity of the Zairean and FNLA forces is reportedly threatening the last major town that the FNLA holds in the north, Santo Antonio do Zaire. Reports from FNLA sources outside Angola confirm the accuracy of these Western reports.

The current offensive, which has resulted in the fall of such important FNLA-held coastal towns as Ambriz and Ambrizete, has put the MPLA in control of nearly all northern Angola and a huge strip of the central highlands running from Luanda eastward to the Zambian border in the east.

ATTACK

Meanwhile, in the south, MPLA forces are reportedly planning a major armored attack against the railroad town of Luso presently being held by troops of the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) that are supported by regular army troops from the racist, White-ruled Republic of South Africa and White mercenaries from Portugal, Rhodesia, Europe and the U.S.A.

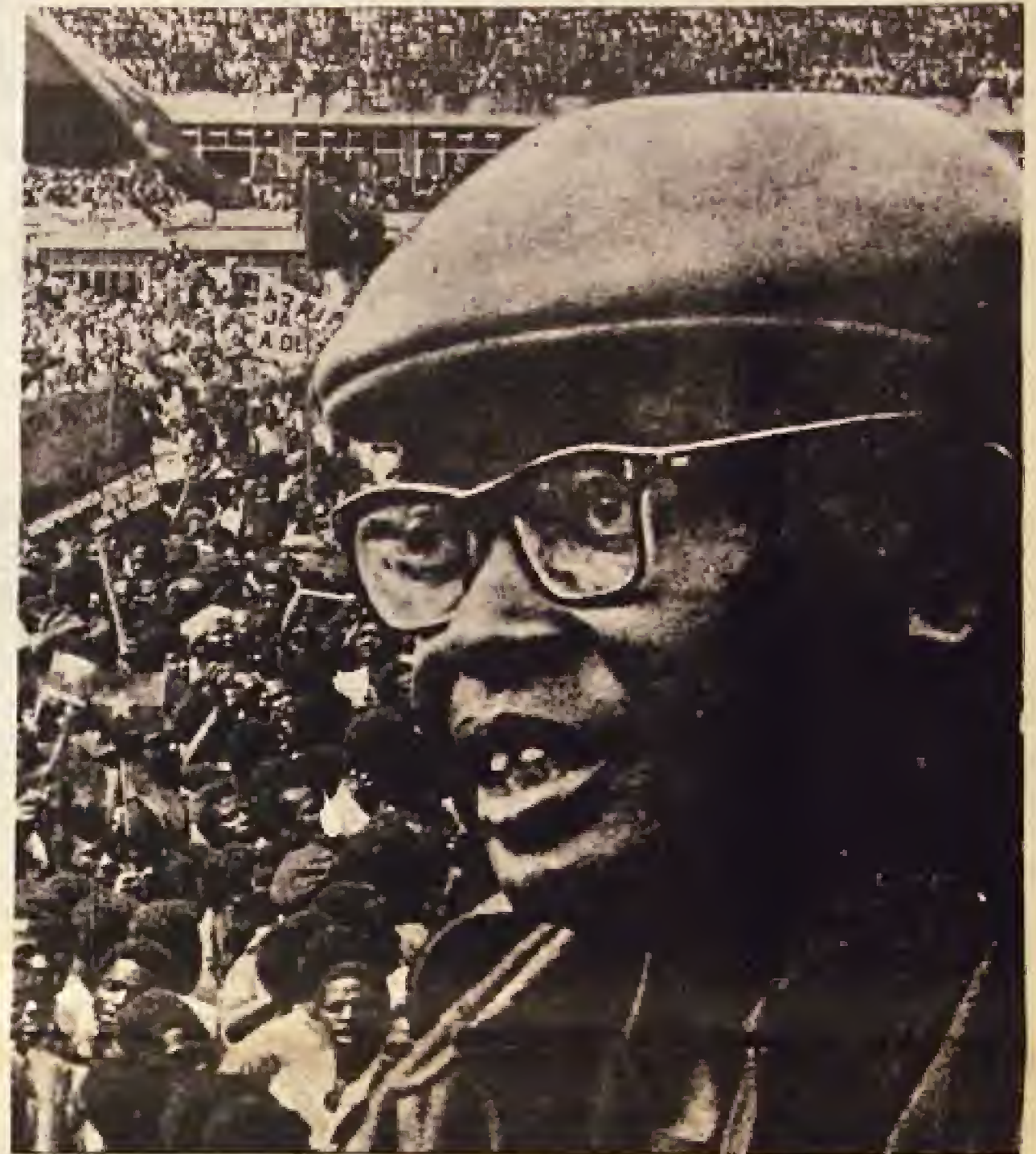
British correspondents report that MPLA troops have captured at least 2,000 soldiers fighting with the FNLA troops, many of

(Addis Ababa, Ethiopia) — Despite a concerted effort on the part of the U.S. press to picture the just concluded Organization of African Unity (OAU) summit a failure because it did not vote to recognize the legitimate government of the People's Republic of Angola under the leadership of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the African leaders themselves did not consider the summit a failure.

Those who strongly support the legitimacy of the MPLA were at least successful in preventing the adoption of a resolution or position at the OAU that compelled the MPLA to recognize the Western and South Africa-backed National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

Recognizing the impossibility of achieving unanimity on any direct Angola resolution, the summit created an eight-country committee whose task it is to closely follow developments in Angola and report back to the next regularly scheduled annual OAU meeting in Mauritius next June-July.

In a show of continuing African solidarity which surprised some observers and angered others, Presidents Samora Machel of Mozambique and Julius K. Nyerere of Tanzania escorted Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda to



MPLA leader and Angolan President AGOSTINHO NETO speaks before his people (background) in Luanda.

his car when he left prior to the ending of the meeting. The gesture was meant to emphasize that President Kaunda's departure was not a "walk-out" as it has been reported in some U.S. papers.

Presidents Machel and Nyerere are the staunchest supporters of the MPLA's legitimacy to represent all Angola, while President Kaunda has pushed the position that would require the MPLA to agree to a ceasefire and to negotiate with the Western-backed FNLA and UNITA, prior to recognition.

SUMMIT

Luis d'Almeida, director of information of the MPLA-led government of Angola, said following the summit: "We think the result was positive. At least now we know who is who. We expect more recognition by African states and by the time of the next summit in Mauritius we expect to be seated as the government of Angola. But it is not the OAU who will solve the Angolan problem. It will be the Angolan people."

OAU President Idi Amin of Uganda told reporters following the summit: "I am very, very happy with the result of the summit," and explained that while no decisions were made, the Organization had moved to turn over the consideration of the

THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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AGOSTINHO NETO: "ANGOLA IS NOT A RUSSIAN SATELLITE"

In the following interview with the French daily newspaper *Le Monde*, Dr. Agostinho Neto, president of the People's Republic of Angola and head of the country's ruling political party, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), disputes Western claims that his country has become a "satellite" of the Soviet Union. Russia is supplying the new republic with arms in its bitter struggle with the imperialist-backed forces of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

The interview, which was conducted prior to last week's meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, is reprinted from *The New York Times*.

LE MONDE: What do you think of your foes' tactics?

NETO: When the spokesmen of the UNITA and FNLA puppet groups talk of a government of national union, they do so for two reasons. First, as a tactical move designed to win the sympathies of countries which are perhaps unaware of their links with racist South Africa and expansionist Zaire. Secondly, because they know that strategically, the struggle will be won by the people, hence the MPLA.

As for us, we don't want to negotiate with UNITA and the FNLA or with any of the aggressors. Let them allow our country and our people to become organized. There can be no agreement with the representatives of imperialism in our country.

As regards the conference the OAU is planning to hold in Addis Ababa, I think it will be useful for our struggle, for Angola, and for all Africa if it examines the question of foreign aggression in our country. If it concerns itself with other problems, it will collapse.

Q: Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger considers that the presence of the Soviet Union in Angola is upsetting world equilibrium.

NETO: Let's get one basic point clear. All throughout the struggle against Portuguese colonialism and all the time we were subject to exploitation, oppression and the worst brutalities, Mr. Kissinger had absolutely nothing to say. Even at that time,



Dr. AGOSTINHO NETO, MPLA leader and president of the People's Republic of Angola: "It is when we have become independent and free and beginning to build our state, that the U.S. State Department becomes worried by the fact we have Soviet arms."

the Soviet Union was helping us by sending supplies of arms for our liberation struggle and for this we are very grateful.

It is when we have become independent and free, and beginning to build our state, that the United States State Department becomes worried by the fact that we have Soviet arms. Just because the Soviet Union supplies us with weapons, it doesn't mean that we have become a satellite. We've never been one.

We've never asked Moscow for advice on how to set up our state.

All the major decisions in our country are taken by our movement, our government and our people. Once again the State Department is operating as international imperialism's chief agent.

The South Africans want to control Angola. It's something they have been wanting for a long time. They have always main-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24



P.L.O. Wins Right To Debate Before U.N.

(United Nations, N.Y.) — In a major Third World victory, the U.N. Security Council, over the heated objections of U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Daniel P. Moynihan, last week voted 11-1 to allow the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to debate its own cause before the Council.

Moynihan, the only Council representative to oppose the PLO (whose delegation is pictured above), claimed that admitting a nonmember government to Council debates was an "ominous and foreboding" violation of U.N. procedure and that to abandon procedure would lead to "totalitarianism."

AFRICA IN FOCUS



Sahara

The last Spanish troops withdrew from the Sahara last week, ending Spain's 50 years of fascist rule in the northwest African country. Under a "deal" worked out last year, Morocco and Mauritania, the Sahara's northern and southern neighbors respectively, will jointly rule the country, eventually splitting it up between them. The POLISARIO Front, a progressive Saharan political group, opposes the "deal" and has been waging guerrilla warfare against Moroccan and Mauritanian troops in an effort to win independence for the Sahara.

Zaire

Angered over the resounding defeats of the troops of the Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), Zaire, a staunch FNLA ally, last week threatened to declare war on the MPLA. The Zairean government of President Mobutu Sese Seko said it will protest to the United Nations the alleged "bombings by Cuban troops" of the Zaire border city of Dilolo, and warned the Soviet Union and Cuba of "the serious consequences" that could come about because of "these acts of aggression."

Angola

Senate Intelligence Committee Chairman Frank Church charged last week that U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger dictated the secret intervention of the U.S. in Angola over the opposition of the CIA and the State Department.

United States

U.S. Assistant Treasury Secretary Gerald L. Parsky revealed last week that the U.S. will not sign a proposed international agreement under which governments would combine to manage the supply and price of cocoa. Such world leading cocoa producers as Ghana, the Ivory Coast and Nigeria are seeking higher prices and improved markets for their exports. Parsky explained the U.S. action with the excuse that such agreements "usually don't work."

CARMEN PEREIRA ON THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE GUINEA-BISSAU REVOLUTION

Carmen Pereira is a leading member of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC). The following is the conclusion of an interview with Comrade Pereira conducted by the Liberation Support Movement (LSM) that appeared in the Fall, 1975, issue of LSM News, the quarterly journal of the LSM published in Richmond, British Columbia, Canada.

In this portion of the interview, Comrade Pereira discusses the efforts of the PAIGC to win the active involvement of women in the political affairs of Guinea-Bissau.

CONCLUSION

LSM: As a woman revolutionary, what problems have you had and how have you been able to deal with them?

PEREIRA: Before I joined the struggle I was very timid and didn't speak much. I couldn't be among people too long because I was shy. And I was very afraid when seeing people with guns. Now I don't hesitate to talk and have learned to use a gun myself. This change is due in large part to the advice of our great comrade Amilcar Cabral. His writings, the

seminars he gave us and the many conversations we had with him were a tremendous inspiration and gave me the confidence to struggle.

I have learned that the first thing one must have is political determination. To win the people's respect and confidence it is necessary to be disciplined and serious about one's responsibilities. It is especially important to follow every directive and line of the Party. With the people's respect and confidence one can work without too many difficulties.

LSM: What was the woman's position in the traditional system of Guinea-Bissau?

PEREIRA: There are many tribes and each one has its own customs. Among the Muslim tribes the position of women is very backward. To greet her husband, for example, a woman would have to kneel and put her forehead on the floor. She went to work and the husband stayed home. She worked till sundown, came home, greeted her husband, prepared the meal, got some water for him to wash with, brought him food and knelt before giving it to him. The Party



CARMEN PEREIRA, (left) leading PAIGC member, has experienced firsthand the changes that the liberation struggle in Guinea-Bissau has brought for African women.

has struggled against such negative traditions and done away with most of that. Now men work with the women in the fields.

In the past a Muslim man never wanted a woman to go to a meeting. There were many meetings during the struggle and women were very interested to hear what was going on. The men would refuse to let them go for three or four times, but the women would keep insisting. Finally, the men were obliged to accept. Now, women are on the

village committees and are sometimes elected president. Men now accept women leading meetings because it is a Party directive and they see why it is correct.

But there is still work to be done. After our coming to Bissau, the president of the State Committee in Gabu had many problems with the Fula tribesmen. They could accept anything except having women on their village committee. So we did some political work. To inaugurate a house just built in Gabu, President Lay-Seck invited me. He called a meeting for the population and I led it. At first, men were upset to see a woman leading, but afterwards they were satisfied. Ever since that day, they have let women participate in meetings and committees.

TRADITIONS

There are still, of course, problems with backward traditions. The Party's approach is to struggle against what goes counter to our principles and particular goals at each stage of the struggle. We can't change these traditions overnight. Only the evolution of the struggle will overcome all the negative aspects of tradition.

LSM: What is the situation regarding polygamy? What is the PAIGC doing to overcome it?

PEREIRA: Polygamy, in a country which has been backward for so long, is very difficult to combat. In the countryside it is still common because of the traditional economic structure. Polygamy is not illegal yet and the Party has not taken any severe measures against it. But we are doing much political work to show that it is no longer necessary, especially in the cities. In meetings we talk about the

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

Interview With Fatima Ahmed Of The Omani Women's Organization

Situated in the Arabian Peninsula, the country of Oman is little known by people in the United States, yet the U.S.-backed government of Iran in recent weeks has stepped up its expansionist military campaigns against the progressive Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman (PFLO). Not satisfied with Oman alone, the Shah of Iran's forces have infringed upon the territories of Oman's neighbor and longtime comrade-in-arms, the Democratic Republic of Yemen.

To provide our readers with information on the struggle in Oman, THE BLACK PANTHER reprints the conclusion of excerpts of an interview conducted by the Liberation Support Movement (LSM) with Fatima Ahmed of the Omani Women's Organization.

CONCLUSION

LSM: In December, 1974, U.S.-trained Iranian troops launched

another offensive against the defense of the revolution. This western region of liberated Oman. What have been the results of this offensive?

AHMED: This campaign included about 11,000 Iranian troops but did not achieve any success either. The first positive outcome was that the masses gathered even more firmly around



Map of Oman.

the Front, fully supporting our campaign demonstrated the strength of the Front, its capacity to repel such a wide range attack. Also, we gained a tremendous amount of war material left behind by the Iranian troops.

DOCUMENTS

I might note, we're now compiling some of the documents and weaponry we captured for a public display for our tenth anniversary celebrations. So you see we have consolidated our movement through political campaigns which clarify the treachery of Sultan Qabus, willing to bargain Oman's independence to save his throne, and the threat the Iranian forces represent, not only against the Omani people but also against the whole Arabian Peninsula.

On the negative side, the campaign did result in the destruction of large numbers of cattle and sheep as well as

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

Carmen Pereira On The Role Of Women In The Guinea-Bissau Revolution

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

negative aspects of polygamy; Party militants can only have monogamous marriages; women can now get divorces; and our youth are growing up believing in monogamy because of the new education. Little by little we will overcome polygamy.

LSM: How did women participate in the armed struggle?

PEREIRA: From the beginning women played an active and essential part in gaining the independence of our country. Throughout the struggle we did vital clandestine work. Men, having to carry identification cards, couldn't do this work as well. We brought food to the guerrillas. Also, the Local Armed Forces (FAL) included women, some of whom became commanders. Many women became nurses, trained by the Party either abroad or inside the country. And all nurses received military training at popular military centers. They had to be military people as well as nurses so they could defend their patients and themselves if attacked by the enemy. Other women, in addition to their regular functions, became political commissars. In all areas of the struggle women's participation was vital to our success.

LSM: In 1972 Amilcar Cabral mentioned that some nurses

trained by the Party left their responsibilities after they got married and had some children. How did you deal with that problem? Does it still exist?

PEREIRA: Yes, during the armed struggle we did have some problems like that. Everyone has his or her own problems in life, and some individuals put these ahead of the interests of the Party. Some nurses returned from abroad and wanted to spend their time just treating their sick parents; others abandoned their posts and went to where their husbands were. We had to struggle a lot with this problem, to educate these militants about the necessity of carrying out one's responsibility and serving the whole people. Generally, this education work was quite effective.

SACRIFICES

LSM: National reconstruction, like the armed struggle, demands certain sacrifices—for example, the separation of couples. Some nurses I met accepted this by saying: "I do what the Party wants." Considering women's traditional role of subordination, do you think there is a danger of their accepting directives without understanding why?

PEREIRA: We are in a crucial stage in Guinea-Bissau: we need to defend our independence, and

begin improving the material conditions of the people. For example, there are still traitors and enemies in the country; our army needs to be ready in both the towns and countryside. And health conditions are very bad in the countryside; we need to send our nurses to sanitation clinics throughout the country. Sometimes this means that couples need to be separated so as to carry out responsibilities in different geographic areas. The Party and state are doing much to bring couples together, but sometimes separation is still necessary.

GREAT DIFFERENCE

Our people understand that there is a great difference between the Party's authority and the old Portuguese colonialist authority. The Portuguese colonialists didn't give us time to see and learn and think; they were only interested in exploiting us. Now, under the Party, we have the chance of learning and developing. We are free. The nurses are free to say what they think; if there is some problem with their work, they can discuss it with a responsible person in the Party.

The Party taught us the rights of women in our country. The Party led the liberation war, built the National Assembly, gave us the correct political orientation. . . the Party did everything. This is why young people respect what the Party says. □

WORLD SCOPE



France

The French left-wing newspaper *Liberation* last week published what it said are the names of 32 agents of the CIA attached to the U.S. embassy in Paris. The newspaper said it identified the agents by cross-checking several different staff registers published by the U.S. State Department, including the Paris embassy's internal telephone directory. The home addresses and telephone numbers of eight of the 32 — said to be the most important CIA agents in Paris — were included.

Israel

(Washington, D.C.) - The Defense Department recently announced its intention to sell Israel four Grumman E-20 Hawkeye planes. The purchase by Israel of four advanced radar surveillance planes from the U.S. will give the Israelis air superiority over "any combination of Arab air forces," according to U.S. and Israeli officers.

Arab Countries

(Washington, D.C.) - A Senate subcommittee seeking an accounting of money deposited by oil-producing nations in U.S. banks was recently rebuffed by the Federal Reserve Board because the Board had "indications" that some Arab countries might make large withdrawals if the information was disclosed.

W.H.O.

Experts from 15 countries who attended a recent World Health Organization (WHO) conference in Geneva, Switzerland, have recommended that sexual health care be designed for the "enhancement of life and personal relationships" and not just for dealing with "procreation or sexually transmitted diseases." The experts found a "great and universal need to bring about positive change" in attitudes toward human sexuality, among both the public and health personnel.



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ENTERTAINMENT

Vesley
Robert
Wells



What could they have
Bob Wells in prison for
47 years)?

After 47 years
behind walls of madness
in cages of rehabilitative insanity
(man — strong, tempered truth

Named Bob Wells — has left.
A place controlled by keepers —
Whose minds are no more
Than barbed wire bull (?)

He must be old now
It was such a long time)
But he's not old at all
He can't be old — he was free
Only slavery is old.

It's beautiful that Bob was
released
It's pitifully sad and idiotic
That a human being would be
locked up for 47 years.

Bob's a very beautiful brother
He has been, all this time
Subjected to all but the final
And that "all" was negative.

They didn't break him,
His spirit, they couldn't take it
So having taken everything
They could from him
And seeing that
He had woven his life into his
will,
They let his body walk
Out of the gates
Where his heart
And his mind have always been.

He has been in prison
One year short of twice my age —
A living proof
Of the prison system's failure.

What could they have wanted?
Two of me?
Four of my children?
All of our lives?

Only slavery is old.

Johnny Larry Spain
July, 1974



"THE RIVER NIGER": DREAMS DEFERRED

Standout Weekend
Performances At Oakland
Community Learning
Center

(Oakland, Calif.) - The Black Ensemble Theater Company's production of *The River Niger*, performed at the Oakland Community Learning Center last weekend, puts forth the myriad of contradictions that interact in the Black community.

In the course of the three and one-half hour play, almost every aspect of Black life was dealt with in a very strong and dramatic way.

The River Niger concerns a Black family, the Williamses, and their son Jeff's (played by Alan David Moss) relationship with a group of self-proclaimed "revolutionaries."

PROFOUND POETRY

John Williams (Ronald Norman), the father, writes very profound poetry but drinks constantly to escape from the frustration of having his "dreams deferred." Dr. Dudley Stanton (Pervis Taylor) is the family doctor and friend who is striving to formulate an outlook for positive change but his scorn of and detachment from Black people and their problems causes him to be overly skeptical of the struggle that he has so much in common with.

Jeff has just left the Air Force and has renounced his faith in the "American way." Still, however, he plans to be a lawyer. His "revolutionary" friend, Mo



Scenes from *The Black Ensemble Theater's* excellent performance of director Leonard E. Jones' original play *The River Niger*.

BPINS photos

(played by the play's director, Leonard E. Jones), has taken a dangerous step too far ahead of his people.

Jeff and Mo had both been leaders of the neighborhood gang and had transformed it into a progressive group which strove to better the community. However, after Jeff went to college, the group fell out of favor with the community, becoming cultists by not realizing that a united Black community would be the motivating force for change. The group failed to understand how their "guerrilla" actions did not organize the community but only isolated it against the police.

The manner in which the cast presented each particular character in the play was the strong point of this performance. The acting was polished and professional — but still the true emotions of each class and section of the community were

brought out in full. The characters, from the grandmother (played by both Pat Nesbit and Mary Joseph) to Skeeter the junkie (Steve Flournoy) were easy to identify with because of the realism injected into their parts.

The play pointedly showed how different Black social and economic groups have failed to come together to create a unified program encompassing the needs and desires of all. Because of this failure, each character dealt with the problem of oppression in a different way.

John, the father, drank himself delirious and fantasized with his poetry. The doctor chose to constantly criticize without offering concrete solutions while Mo, the "revolutionary," chose to lash out at society, again with no concrete program. Only young Jeff even had a concrete goal — to become a lawyer in order to serve his community.

FIANCEE

Jeff's fiancée Ann (Denise Minnifield) portrayed a refugee from South Africa whose father has been imprisoned for nine years there as a result of her brother's political activities. Ann's situation offered a cold contrast to the squabbles the rest of the characters constantly engaged in as a result of their lack of unity.

A major weakness of the play is that it tries to deal with too much, causing the plot to be drawn out and overly complicated. *The River Niger* is very meaningful, but some of its effectiveness may have been lost because too much content was covered at one time.

The Black Ensemble Theater Company, however, is to be congratulated for an excellent performance, and for their hard work and fine acting talents. □

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Omani Women's Organization

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

widespread burning of crops. However, though they were able to attack the people's sources of livelihood, the attacking forces did not gain control over any new territory.

Another side to this campaign which I'd like to point out: Qabus succeeded in getting the participation of Jordanian troops so as to quell objections from Arab circles about the use of non-Arab (i.e. Iranian) armies.

These were the same troops used in the Black September massacre against our Palestinian comrades. They are specially trained and indoctrinated in hate against the Palestinian people — in fact, they were told they were being sent to Oman to fight Palestinians there.

However, Hussein's support for the sultan is nothing new. Jordanian security forces were introduced in Oman in 1970. Several of our comrades have undergone torture and execution at the hands of the Jordanians — with the assistance of British security agents.

STRUCTURE

LSM: Perhaps you could briefly outline and discuss the current structure of the PFLO.

AHMED: Yes. At the base we have a cell and ring structure: the ring is for candidates to join the Front; the cells are composed of Front members. We have cells in all villages and localities. These base units elect delegates to the General Conference which meets every two years. The last meeting was in July, 1974, when we formed the PFLO from our previous organization.

The real power in the Front is embodied in the General Conference. There leadership is reviewed and selected; some leaders may be replaced if it's felt necessary. The Conference elects the Central Command which is like the central committee of most revolutionary parties; it is concerned with policies and direction of the Front in all its aspects, whereas the Central Executive Committee, elected by the CC, is charged with the day-to-day implementation of these policies. The Executive Committee is the highest organizational unit of the Front.

Very important also are the cadres. In our fighting organization every political cadre must have military training, while every militant must also have political training. □

"The Court System—Fair Or Unfair?"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

anything about the law. I had never been in trouble before, so I believed my court-appointed lawyer when he told me to plea bargain. He promised if I pleaded guilty, I would be probated. I was given a sentence of 30 years.

"I could not believe the verdict, and racked my brain trying to figure out why this had happened. Was the trial unfair? Was the judge prejudiced? Did the fact that I am affiliated with the Black On Vanguard affect my sentence? Could it be that society has programmed the courts to dispose of any and all offenders, regardless of their innocence or guilt?

"The questions are many, the answers few. This kind of sentencing can be stopped, if the public dictates to its legislatures that judges should be elected rather than merited into office. Currently there is even a bill to be introduced called 'Shock Treatment' where an inmate would be confined for a period of months and then suddenly released on probation.

"This country is in a recession. It would be far cheaper to put the inmate on the streets than to keep him confined. There are so many offenders that the state's prisons are overcrowded and conditions here have become deplorable. What does society expect me to gain? What is there to gain from sleeping in a cellblock that houses anywhere from 50-80 women? There are roaches, falling plaster, hazardous heating systems, and old, worn, and uncomfortable bunks.

"What is there to gain from working 40, maybe 50 hours a week without positive reinforcement, eating meals that are so greasy and starchy that they upset the digestive tract? What is there to be gained from being hassled by the matron because you want a clean sheet, or you want to go outside for awhile?

"What is there to be gained



Scene during the June 14 to 19, 1975, revolt at N.C. Women's Prison.

from going to a hospital and being treated with Tylenols for everything from a common cold to some unknown more serious ailment? What is there to be gained from the recreational facilities when the system only provides the same things that you can do in the dorm? What is to be gained from the parole board, when all they do is look at the bad things you do, never at the good, and then turn you down? Last of all, what is to be gained from keeping me from my family for the past 15 long months?

"I firmly believe that all that is gained is NOTHING BUT ANGER AND HATE!

REVIEWED

"I have tried to get my case reviewed, but I cannot even get the proper forms. If they were mailed in, censorship would not let them come through. So what is left? Still more anger, despair, and downright fear. There are persons in the Neo-Free Society who could help me and many more like me, if these persons outside only knew what to do. But our penal system prevents this. When visitors do come, the officials only show them the clean and upright conditions, never the things that should be seen (i.e., Isolation, Security, Dorms G, A, B, B2 and Dorm C).

"For too long the correctional department has taken the job of 'correcting' in its own hands. It is time the people did something about this. Just because we are

inmates does not mean we are animals. After all, this could happen to anyone; your son or daughter, maybe even your mother or father.

"As for me, I need help desperately. I need help in finding the proper authorities for my case and the course of action I should take. I am appealing to any, and all, concerned citizens, who want to see real justice triumph after all. I am young, and I do not have anyone in the free world to help me help myself.

"The corrections department does not offer the proper kind of rehabilitation or the proper services that would be of any real help or use to the inmate, such as psychiatric services, counseling, analysis or the like. We have a program known as diagnostic study, but for all the help it does, it is a waste of money and manpower. Diagnostic study is in charge of the honor grade system, which recommends home passes, classification to work projects and counseling.

ANIMOSITY

"Since I have been here, this program has only served to be the cause of a lot of animosity and excess red tape. They never help the inmate, as they are too busy with paper work and 'priorities.' The inmate usually gets lost somewhere in between. There just are not enough people here who are sympathetic to our needs. In fact, this article is going against the corrections department and unfortunately will probably become a permanent part of my file.

"In conclusion, I would like to say that there are many other young women like me who need help and who would like to see changes made within the system. If there is anyone out there who can aid us, please contact me at the North Carolina Correctional Center for Women, 1034 Bragg Street, Raleigh, North Carolina. I need help very badly, so please open your eyes and hearts to my plea, for I am innocent and want to help others who may also be.

"Thanking you sincerely,
"Ellen Amana Porter."

Barbee On "...And Bid Him Sing"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 12

The sections of the book dealing with Malcolm X from the time of his appearance in Cairo for the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) through his assassination is prose poetry in beauty and force.

The book ends with a note from a U.S. White female Muslim that the poet is laying down his pen, pursuing Black GI deserters, the antiwar and Black Power crowd.

The last lines of the book in the form of a P.S. indicate that

Suliman kept saying: "...the Turks looked just like White folks!"

Readers who are interested in finding out more about what Blacks do to themselves and others while they are exiled should read this well written, succinct and deep book.

When Brother Du Bois' new book *Racism, War and Revolution* is published next year, we will be treated with his thoughts on the global struggle for Black equality. □

MARTIAL ARTS



Stimulus/Response

Any organism must be able to combine sensation with appropriate action. Some factor in the environment is sensed and some action follows. It is assumed through general experience that the action is brought about by the sensation and would not take place in its absence. If we observe someone preparing as though to strike us, we duck; we would not have ducked had we not experienced the sensation.

The sensation is a stimulus. The action itself, which is an answer to the stimulus, is a response. This action of stimulus and response is characteristic of life. If we were to come across an object that did not respond to any stimulus we could think of, we would come to the conclusion that it was inanimate; or, if once alive, was now dead. On the other hand, if there was a response, we would tend to conclude instantly that the object was alive. What is required of living objects is a response that maintains the integrity of the object: one that avoids damage or increases well being. This is an adaptive response.

We are best acquainted with our own responses, of course. In our responses there exists something we call purpose. We know in advance the end we are aiming at. If we are fighting, we intend to avoid blows because we know before (from experience) the blow is received that we shall suffer pain if we don't avoid the blow. What is more, we intend to strike first because we know before the blow is struck that it will help end the fight and enforce our own desires of preservation and integrity.

Other actions which arise from a stimulus or a series of repeated stimuli may be labeled as conditioned reflexes. This is developed in response to an association with a given experience or number of similar experiences. The conditioned reflex is flexible from person to person. Though general responses usually are along the same lines, the speed and continuity of the reflex will be dependent on the individual's own drives and abilities.

ATTORNEY FOR "HURRICANE" CARTER CHARGES SUPPRESSION OF EVIDENCE

(Trenton, N.J.) - The attorney for Rubin "Hurricane" Carter told the New Jersey Supreme Court last week that his client was sent to prison through "a massive and purposeful suppression of evidence."

Myron Beldock, Carter's attorney, and Lewis Steele, attorney for Carter's co-defendant, John Artis, said the Passaic (New Jersey) County prosecutor's office crippled the defense at the 1967 triple murder trial by failing to reveal that two key witnesses had been promised leniency for criminal charges against them.

The witnesses, Alfred Bello and Arthur Bradley, had committed numerous crimes throughout the state of New Jersey (see THE BLACK PANTHER, December 6, 1975) and allegedly saw Carter and Artis leave a dingy. White Paterson, New Jersey bar after three White patrons were killed. Both men have recanted their testimony since then.

Defense attorneys at the original trial were never told that detectives promised Bello and Bradley they would be treated lightly for lying against Carter and Artis, Beldock argued.

Beldock and Steele emphasized how crucial the omission was. They asked that Carter and Artis be freed on bail.

RUBIN "Hurricane" CARTER, imprisoned for nine years after frame-up by New Jersey law enforcement officials, is fighting for a new trial.

Public pressure is mounting for the release of Carter and Artis, but New Jersey state officials are trying to reframe the two men (see THE BLACK PANTHER, DECEMBER 27, 1975.)

Governor Brendan Byrne appointed Eldridge Hawkins, a Black legislator, to make a special inquiry into the case. Instead of recommending the release of Carter and Artis, Hawkins suggested that they be tried as accomplices, instead of as the actual murderers.

Byrne was involved in the original frame-up, and in 1966, while acting as a county prosecutor, he was helpful in arranging a light sentence for key prosecution witness Bradley. Now Byrne and Hawkins have lined up Bello to give a third version of what he (Bello) saw nine years ago.

Recently, Bello recanted his recantation to support Hawkins' charges that Carter and Artis were allegedly accomplices. However, Bello's latest statements

contradict both his own earlier testimony as well as statements by other witnesses.

Another witness "lined up" by Byrne and Hawkins is Annie Ruth Haggins, a Black woman who also claims Carter and Artis were outside the bar during the triple slaying. However, in a recent interview, "Hurricane" Carter pointed out that in 1966 Ms. Haggins volunteered statements to the police implicating a Paterson man and saying she had disposed of one of the guns used in the crime. According to Carter, this was done in return for Ms. Haggins' airfare to Florida.

ATTEMPT

In an attempt to turn co-defendant Artis against Carter, Hawkins had Artis taken from prison to his mother's home at the end of last year. Once he was there, Artis stated, Hawkins promised, "I (Artis) could go home by Christmas if I gave him a statement" confirming that he and Carter had been outside the bar when the shooting took place. Artis refused and informed Carter of the plot.

In an interview with *The Militant*, Carter called Hawkins a "treacherous puppet."

"Governor Byrne is pulling the strings. It is his program," Carter stated. He has now withdrawn his pardon application so as to remove any doubt that he admits any implication in the 1966 crime.

The case is now before the New Jersey state supreme court, headed by chief justice Richard Hughes. It was Hughes who appointed Judge Samuel Larner as Carter's original trial judge nine years ago. When Larner refused to grant Carter and Artis a new trial last year after Bello and Bradley recanted their testimony, Hughes publicly commended Larner and promoted him to the court of appeals.

"These people think justice means 'just us,'" the "Hurricane" remarked. □



Congratulations Steelers!

(Miami, Fla.) - The Pittsburgh Steelers will reign one more year as the world champions of professional football following their 21-17 defeat of the surprising Dallas Cowboys.

The Cowboys led for three quarters but Pittsburgh's famed "Steel Curtain" defense and the fantastic pass catching of LYNN SWANN (above, in block), later named the game's "Most Valuable Player," stunned the Cowboys and turned the tide for the Steelers.

African Leaders Deny U.S. Propaganda

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

whom were Zairean regulars. Zaire's president, Mobutu Sese Seko, is a brother-in-law of the FNLA leader, Holden Roberto. Both men have received military and financial assistance in their war against the legitimate government of Angola from the CIA and the Pentagon.

In the U.S., Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger met for nearly two hours on January 16 with ambassadors and chiefs of mission from 37 African countries in Washington. Some of the diplomats said Kissinger explained the alleged U.S. view that the war in Angola should be solved by Africans without foreign intervention.

Earlier, in Kinshasha, Zaire, Paulo Tuba, a member of the "political-bureau" of the FNLA, admitting the defeat of its forces in northern Angola, told newsmen that the situation was so bad that his group might have to use the tactics of "international terrorism" to keep its cause alive.

"We'll do what the Palestinians are doing..." Tuba told the assembled press, claiming that the FNLA is fighting "the Cubans and the Russians." He added, "We can find money to pay foreign commandos to attack" the Congo (Brazzaville) and Guinea embassies around the world. Congo and Guinea are leaders of the MPLA-support group within the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

Tuba, who is a political science graduate of New York University, said that Ambriz had been



MPLA soldiers inspect captured American supplies.

evacuated after FNLA troops had blown up whatever equipment they could not take with them. He said the port town had first been subjected to shelling, then to strafing from helicopter gunships and subsequently to a concentrated rocket attack.

Indicating how little hope the FNLA has of holding a line anywhere in northern Angola, Tuba disclosed that FNLA forces had blown up the bridges to slow the MPLA advance. He said that their best chance was to organize guerrilla warfare of the type carried out against the Portuguese in Angola.

Tuba said the aim of the terrorism he projected was "to convince our friends to give us the means to oppose the foreign

invasion." He said the first terrorist strikes would be "right in Luanda. We are prepared to plastic movies, markets and public places," he said, referring to plastic explosives. "Plastic is easy to buy in Europe."

Tuba said that he hoped to go to the United States soon to try to persuade members of Congress to vote for military assistance to the FNLA. He formerly represented the FNLA as an observer at the United Nations. He admitted the presence of South African troops fighting in southern Angola and said FNLA and UNITA troops were "co-existing" with South African troops. He said he did not expect South African troops to withdraw from Angola. □

Agostinho Neto: "Angola Is Not A Russian Satellite"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 18

tained that their defense perimeter runs from Angola to Mozambique. They want to take over our country entirely so as to be able to insure their dominance in all of southern Africa.

One cannot therefore put the world's liberating forces which are engaged in working for the genuine liberation of people—these forces are represented here by the socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, Cuba and progressive African countries—on the same footing as forces which want to control our country and take it over.

PROPOSALS

Q: What do you think of the proposals to "put an end to foreign interference" in Angola?

NETO: We are a sovereign state and we seek help from

anybody we please to defend our territorial integrity, our economy and the reconstruction of our land. No country has the right to accuse us on that score. When the United States speaks of putting an end to foreign interference, what it wants is nothing more than the expulsion of the socialist forces, precisely those which are helping us to avoid becoming a new American colony.

CASUALTIES

Q: Aren't you afraid that the people in the area may become casualties of an escalation between great powers as has happened in other parts of the world?

NETO: An escalation of the war in Angola is possible. The interest Americans show in Angola could theoretically lead to an extension of the war beyond the

frontiers of our country but I don't think that it is very probable. The balance of forces in the world is such today that we can rule out the thought of a local conflict touching off a larger war.

It's true our people may suffer even more. But we are ready for that to win our total liberation and independence. Our allies are ready to back us until we reach this goal.

And don't forget there are other instances of the pressure of world opinion forcing the United States to withdraw its forces and leave its proteges in the lurch as did happen in Saigon, for example. We also hope South Africa's troops will withdraw, and with them its puppets, Holden (Roberto), National Front leader, and (Dr. Jonas) Savimbi (leader of the National Union). □

Wesley Robert Wells

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

said he was set free by "the Power of the People."

It was the same majestic spirit, the determination never to be less than a man, that was the clarion call at last Thursday's funeral.

Begun by a short introduction by Brother Lige Dailey, Jr. Wesley Robert Wells was eulogized at the funeral by Rev. Hamilton T. Boswell, Dr. Norvell Smith, Rev. Cecil Williams and Brother Oba T'Shaka. (Wells' eminent attorney and longtime friend, Charles R. Garry, who dubbed Brother Bob "the original Black Panther," was unable to attend the funeral due to his defense of Black Panther Party member Johnny Larry Spain at the ongoing San Quentin 6 trial.)

During Brother Oba T'Shaka's particularly fiery remarks — in which he called Bob Wells "a natural revolutionary... murdered on the battlefield of American justice" — he paused and read this truly appropriate "Message from the San Quentin 6":

IN MEMORY

"In memory of our Comrade, Wesley Robert Wells:

"At the age of 66, 47 in prison, Bob Wells died of a heart attack. Bob Wells, as he was known to all inmates throughout the nation, was a man in every sense of the word and a friend to all, always ready to help anyone at any given time. He was our personal friend and shall never be forgotten. We will never forget back to the 1940s and 1950s when he — and he alone — carried the banner high for all the brothers. No other prisoner in the nation would dare do so. He suffered long and hard in his struggle to have all prison inmates treated as human beings and he never waived in his stand and conviction for us. His memory shall live on in our hearts, and we shall hold the banner high so that all shall know that Bob Wells passed this way.

"Signed, Johnny Spain; Fleeta Drumgo; David Johnson; Willie Tate; Luis Talamendez; Hugo Pinell; and Clifford 'Death Row' Jefferson."

Following a dedication poem enacted by Brothers Lige Dailey and Robert Walker from the Soledad Prison Poets, the brief service ended with the scratchy, moving playing of Bob Wells' favorite song, "This Bitter Earth" by Diana Washington.

Following the funeral, Bob Wells' body was interred at Olivet Memorial Park in Colma, California. His spirit remains Free. □

National Black Assembly

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

when the delegates will be asked to ratify the 1976 Black Political Strategy, adopt the 1976 Black Political Platform, and nominate an independent Black candidate for President of the United States. Though the NBA has yet to decide who is to be recommended to the Convention, Convention planners are hopeful that the prospective candidate once determined will be present at the Convention to make an acceptance speech.

"In preparation for the '76 National Convention, NBA state and local chapters throughout the nation are actively gearing up with a series of state and local conventions during January and February to elect delegates to the National Convention; develop planks for the 1976 Platform; and review the NBA 1976 Black Political Strategy. Persons who are not presently affiliated with the NBA are being actively encouraged to attend the Convention as observers. A concentrated effort is also underway in the South to reactivate a number of delegations which have been inactive over the past 18 months.

CHAIRPERSON

"Ron Daniels, chairperson for the NBA, said that 'the 1976 Black Political Convention and the 1976 Strategy will serve as a major vehicle to popularize the NEW BLACK POLITICS among the masses of Black people and to establish the National Black Political Assembly as a progressive popular Black alternative (pre-party) to the existing major parties. The existing parties only represent different faces of the same power structure,' Daniels continued.

"He went on to say: 'The Republican and Democratic parties reflect and represent the interests of the rich and the super-rich under the present vicious system of institutional racism and monopoly capitalism. A new society based on the principles and realization of economic democracy must be born, and in 1976, starting with the National Black Political Convention, we intend for Black people to take the leadership in forging a new national movement to bring a new society into existence'."

For additional information, contact: Ron Daniels, chairperson, (216) 569-3211, ext. 240, (216) 743-1734, or Ms. Imani Kazana, communications chairperson, (202) 452-1030, (202) 567-5023.

Letters to the Editor

PATIENTS LEGAL DEFENSE PROTESTS FORCED MEDICATION

Dear Editor:

I would like for you to send some literature on dialectical materialism. I would like the responsibility of organizing other lumpen proletariats to become the dominant force in the Black community. I need the political education that the Black Panther Party has to offer.

In terms of grasping an analysis of environmental forces that influence the shaping of my individuality and personal character. I would like to organize a chapter of the Black Panther Party in my area. So I would appreciate it if you would write me back to let me know if it's possible.

All Power To The People,
Comrade Kevin Crockett
Spokesman, Patients Legal Defense
Chester Mental Health Center
Chester, Ill. 62233

P.S. I am currently incarcerated in the Chester Mental Health Center because I was found incompetent to stand trial for robbery in Chicago. I am compelled to take medication four times a day, medication that is supposed to modify my behavior because the psychiatrist said that I have an explosive personality. I am supposed to be schizophrenic.

We, the patients of Chester, have to take the medication orally, and if we refuse it, we are, through the use of force, compelled to or given a shot. I was reading THE BLACK PANTHER Intercommunal News Service where Ms. Elaine Brown is supposed to be attending a Human Experimental Conference in Washington, D.C. I would like for her to know that the use of force to take medication is a cruel and unusual punishment for a mental patient.

I suggest that some action should be taken by the supreme court of this state to abolish the right of a psychiatrist to give mental patients psychiatric medication as a treatment for general cases of mental illness therapy. Mental patients confined in security hospitals who are not violent in their actions and reactions to the people in their environment should have the right to appear in court every 90 days to appeal their cases before a psychiatrist appointed by the court to review patients in general to determine if a patient needs medication. The Constitutionality of such acts should be guarded and because many of us who are waiting to go to trial are competent and don't need medication, we should have mandatory hearings every 90 days by a court-appointed attorney and psychiatrist.

Although this is controversial, it's true and democratic and a God-given right. I hope the Party supports this issue and cause for action because the brothers here need a legal defense!

NO INTENTION OF RETURNING

Dear Editor:

For more than a year now I have been following the growth of the Black liberation movement in the U.S.A. via the wonderful work and insights of THE BLACK PANTHER. Many thanks to you and your sisters and brothers for helping me remain in touch while in exile in France. I, however, unlike Cleaver have no intention to return until universal and unconditional amnesty for American war resisters is achieved.

I am sending you an international money order to pay for my 1976 subscription as well as Elaine's (Brown) and Huey's (Newton) books.

With my earnest fraternal greetings, I remain

Your brother,
Joseph Heffia
Amory, France

PRISON INMATES SEEK CORRESPONDENCE

Dear Editor:

Our names are Watson Jordan, Jr. and Darrell Sneed and we are presently inmates of the London Correctional Institution, London, Ohio.

We are writing this letter to you as a desperate appeal for correspondence and friendship, and we are hoping that you will be kind enough to publish it in your paper.

We truly believe that there are concerned persons who are willing to extend a positive thought to someone who can appreciate such, and so confidently with you as an agent, we are sure that we can reach out to these good people.

Our interests are sports, literature, poetry, music, and the happiness and growth of anyone whom we should come into contact with.

Please write to Watson Jordan, Jr., #142-635 or Darrell Sneed #143-090, P.O. Box 69, London, Ohio 43140.

Sincerely & Hopefully,

Watson Jordan, Jr.
Darrell Sneed

Sweeping Changes For Alabama Penal System

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

response to the state's attempt to create excuses to delay in implementing his order.

He added, "The Alabama legislature has had ample opportunity to make provision for the state to meet its Constitutional responsibility in this area and it has failed to do so."

In 44 major guidelines, many of these subdivided, Judge Johnson detailed steps that would require almost doubling the prison staff while reducing the number of inmates by 50 per cent.

Some of the changes he ordered included providing every prisoner with at least 60 square feet of living space, a change of linen once a week, a complete supply of personal items at no cost and an individual safe locker.

WHOLESOME

He also required the prisons to serve "three wholesome and nutritious meals per day" prepared under the supervision of a person with a college degree in dietetics.

The judge said a system of internal security must be instituted to assure the safety of each inmate from physical violence and that each inmate must be properly classified, assigned "a meaningful job" and given access to basic education and vocational training "designed to teach a marketable skill."

Since 1970, federal courts have found Constitutional abuses in prison conditions in Alabama, Maryland, Mississippi, Massachusetts and California, yet Judge Johnson's ruling is believed to be the first that outlines in great detail the specific conditions that must be met to correct the violations.

RECON

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ON THE PENTAGON



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Tricontinental: On The War In Angola

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

beginning to feel their thrones toppling because the peoples they crushed are arising.

It has been some time now since imperialism stopped pretending to be the defender of civilization. And Vietnam served more than all else in that respect. The cunning sneak attacks are over. In the blaze of high noon there's no place to hide. And so they shamelessly admit their intervention in Angola. At least things are clear: it will be very difficult how to speak weepingly in the voice of tribal struggle or of civil war. No, it is clearly an imperialist intervention against a legitimately constituted government, or to put it another way, a flagrant violation of international conduct. But we know all too well that imperialism cares nothing about that.

The lecture of the *Bulletin* will permit an understanding of why Angola is victim of imperialist aggression today and how the whole fascist rot has joined together with one common objective: to prevent the creation and strengthening of a progressive people's government in a region of Africa strategically and economically vital for international reaction.

OBSELETE HUMANISM

Yes, perhaps the spokesmen of an obsolete humanism are right; in fact, history repeats itself. Every time people rise up in any part of the world because they ache from having stayed on their knees enslaved so long, it is certain that world imperialism will be there to support the worm-eaten yoke with all its forces. History repeats itself, at least contemporary history, because the logic of the retrograde forces never changes: when the carrot won't work, use the stick. The latest example: the invasion of the People's Democratic Republic of East Timor by Indonesia. Directly or by pulling the strings, United States imperialism is always there, repeating itself.

But only the nearsighted — voluntarily or otherwise — are unaware that, although it repeats itself, history advances. Angola advances, and nothing will prevent the Angolan people from definitively wiping out all this rot that has invaded their land. Actually, if the imperialists learn nothing from history because their logic is obtuse, the people let no occasion pass without enriching their experience.

They have learned an unforgettable lesson from the extraordinary struggle of the Viet-

namese people: that imperialism is corroded inside and out, that it can still do much damage (and does) but that, in the end, revolutionary morale, the just political and military line and unity, count more than advanced technology, supersonic fighter planes, missiles and sophisticated weapons. For against the union of a people around a just line and the militant solidarity of the socialist and progressive forces of the world, Yankee imperialism and its satellites have lost the race ahead of time. They will gain temporary successes, they will win a battle, but never the war.

The People's Republic of Angola is not alone in this struggle waged since November 11, 1975,

and which is to a certain extent the continuation of the guerrilla struggle begun in February, 1961. As of December 5, 35 governments had recognized the young Republic. Some African governments have stated their willingness to send troops to fight alongside the MPLA and various others have energetically condemned the imperialist aggression. Solidarity demonstrations have been held and are being held in various parts of the world.

This militant solidarity with the People's Republic of Angola is more important than ever and must continue to grow. In effect, what is at stake today in Angola is an important part of the future destiny of Africa. A victory of the world forces of reaction in this

southern part of the African continent would mean strengthening the racist and fascist bloc in South Africa, an open door to imperialist maneuvers in the Indian Ocean and a danger to the struggle of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe.

What is basically at stake is the capacity of the progressive forces of Africa to end once and for all the neocolonialism that made it possible for the old colonial powers to safeguard their domination over various African countries. And of course this is what imperialism fears now that classic decolonization has evidenced its bankruptcy. The only solution to Africa's liberation is national and social revolution "which permits basic changes within a political framework of self-determination."

MPLA leader
AGOSTINHO
NETO (arrow)
marching triumphantly into
Luanda with
Angolan liberation
forces.



M.P.L.A. Armed Forces

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

Angola problem to a committee that would report at the regular meeting. He added: "We have come to a good understanding of each other. Everyone was talking to each other."

FORMAL VOTE

Although no formal vote was taken on the issue of recognition of the MPLA, Western media assert that only 22 of the OAU countries supported this position. This assertion is based on the fact that those 22 countries have formally recognized the MPLA-led government of Angola. These countries are Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Cape Verde Islands, Sao Tome and Principe, Algeria, Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea, Madagascar, Somalia, Burundi, Chad, Comoro Islands,

Ghana, Mali, Mauritius, Niger and Nigeria.

Countries generally reported as against backing the MPLA include those that have openly taken this position and many others whose position is unknown outside the inner circles of the OAU. These countries are Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, Botswana, Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Gambia, Gabon, Upper Volta, Kenya, Liberia, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritania, Rwanda, Central African Republic, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Swaziland, Togo, Zaire and Zambia.

Ethiopia, the host country of the OAU summit, announced its decision to recognize the MPLA-led government of Angola shortly after the conclusion of the OAU meeting. □

The example of a people liberating themselves from servitude — colonialism or neocolonialism — is contagious and this is the example that imperialism is currently trying to suppress. The government of the People's Republic of Angola is firmly determined to struggle to the end against every attempt to impose the yoke of oppression on it once again. Sooner or later, when the resplendent flag of the new progressive Republic flies over an Angola free of all the scars left by the fascists and racists — simple puppets of foreign powers — history will have taken a step forward, and with it all progressive humanity. □

**M.P.L.A.
Advances**



1976 AND STILL NO JUSTICE